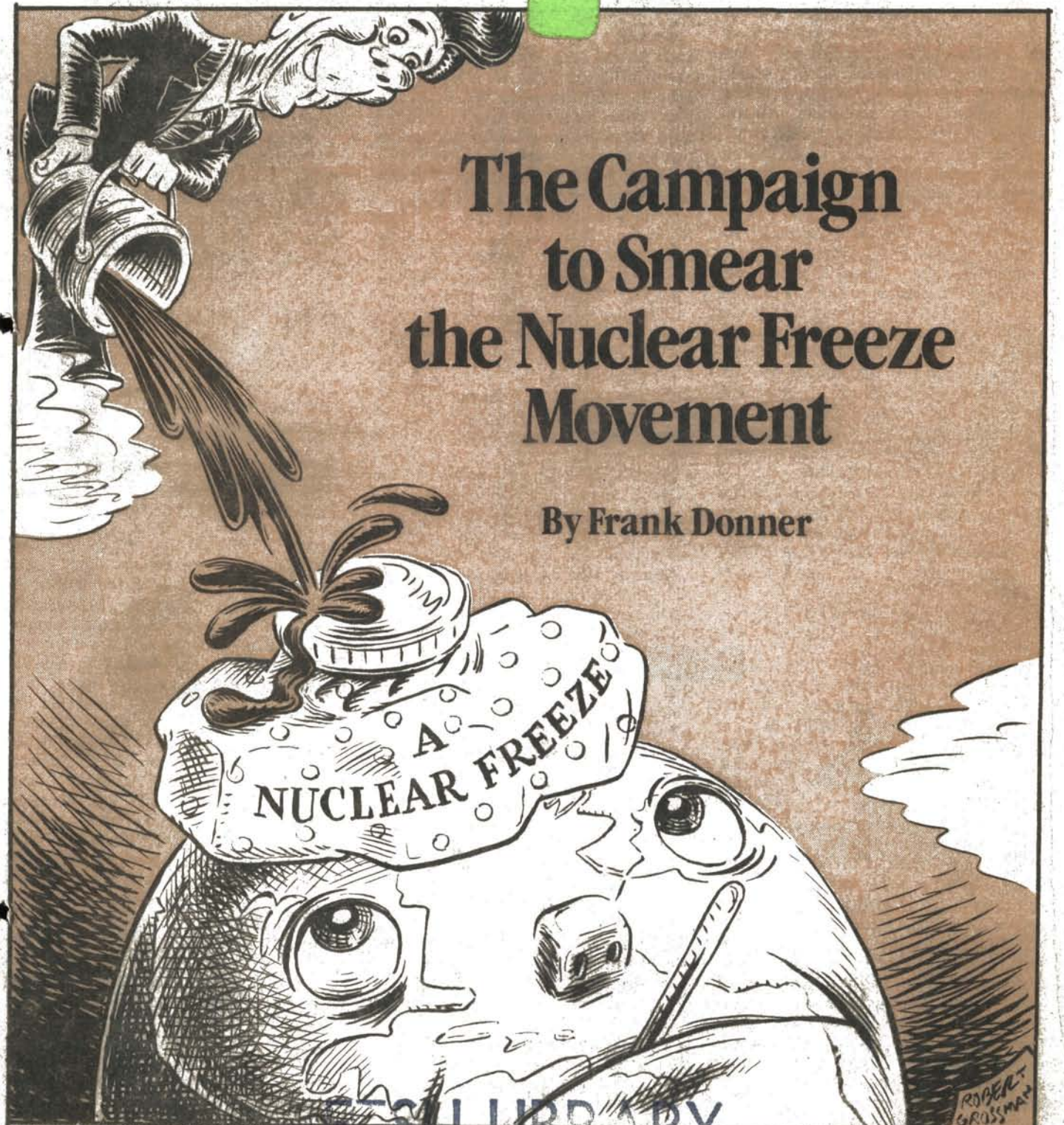
TN S L UUAPAUUEAO 83 1 bO
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
PERIODICALS LIBR
THE SHERROD LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
37614
**
1982

The Nation.

November 6, 1982 $1.25; U.K. 65p

3



The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement

By Frank Donner

LSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

PROGRESSIVES AND ISRAEL

Washington, D.C.

What would you call a candidate for Congress who—at a time of massive cutbacks in social services—advocates large-scale, unconditional military and economic aid to a right-wing government that invades neighboring countries, resulting in thousands of civilian casualties; illegally colonizes land seized by military force; is recognized by Amnesty International as a gross and systematic violator of human rights; arms, trains and cooperates with right-wing death squads that massacre civilian refugees; refuses to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; closely cooperates militarily with South Africa and several Latin American dictatorships; ignores U.N. Security Council resolutions and other international agreements; and refuses to recognize the right of self-determination of a whole people or even to talk with its representatives? Progressive? Apparently *The Nation* thinks so.

Seventeen of the twenty Congressional candidates described as progressive in Mark Green's "A Guide to Twenty Key House Races" [*The Nation*, Sept. 18] support continued large-scale U.S. aid to Israel. To consider such candidates "progressive" is a slap in the faces of the friends of Israel who realize that such unconditional support of Begin enables him to pursue the brutal and chauvinistic policies that are the antithesis of the ideals of progressive Zionists.

As a Zionist and a progressive, I cannot back any candidate who believes that our tax dollars should support Begin and Sharon. I am disappointed that *The Nation* thinks I should. *Stephen Zunes*

GREEN REPLIES

New York City

I envy the purity of Stephen Zunes's views, though not his style, content or politics.

Stylistically, he has written not a letter but a screed, ironically as unconditional in its hostility toward Israel as he says the seventeen candidates are in their support. Substantively, can all blame for the spiral of violence really be placed on Israel and not, say, on the Palestine Liberation Organization, as Zunes's stem-winder of a first sentence implies? And politically, is it really impossible for a candidate to be (*1*) critical of the *Begin* government, (*2*) strongly supportive of the *state* of Israel and (*3*) progressive?

It betrays a lack of political context to consider aid to Israel as *the* litmus test of progressivism for at least two reasons. First, even assuming Begin and Sharon acted badly before, during and after the Beirut massacre, it is essential that the United States continue the aid necessary for Israel to survive—Israel still being a three-decade ally with a democratically elected government surrounded by undemocratic, hostile neighbors.

And second, with a U.S. government that cuts taxes for the rich and social services for the poor, and that renounces renouncing a nuclear first strike, it is the indulgence of single-issue politics to reject a candidate on this issue alone. Is a pro-Reagan Republican really to be preferred to a pro-Israel Democrat? For progressives, the question answers itself. *Mark Green*

POLITICS AND RACE AT HARVARD

Bronxville, N.Y.

I was quite struck by Randall Kennedy's article on the Greenberg affair at Harvard Law School ["On Cussing Out White Liberals," *The Nation*, Sept. 4]. Kennedy sees fit to ignore the well-known fact that black antipathy to Jack Greenberg, director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, stems not from his race but from his politics.

In his authoritative analysis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (*In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960's*) recently published by Harvard University Press, Stanford historian Clay Carson puts his finger on the issue. In the spring of 1964, Greenberg "threatened to cancel plans to provide legal assistance" for a SNCC summer project "rather than work with members of the National Lawyers Guild, a leftist group which did not bar Communists." Naturally, Afro-Americans took offense at Greenberg's effort to have his narrow anticommunism take precedence over the fate of civil rights demonstrators rotting in Southern jails. This episode is confirmed in Howard Zinn's work on SNCC and in James Forman's memoir.

Kennedy fallaciously equates Greenberg with Thomas Emerson and Arthur Kinoy. But these two activist lawyers are longtime Guild members, and there has been no controversy among black students at Yale and Rutgers, respectively, about their teaching civil rights courses. Ironically, Kennedy commits the same error he accuses black law students at Harvard of committing: he reduces a profoundly political question to a matter of race. *Gerald Horne*

KENNEDY REPLIES

Washington, D.C.

Gerald Horne is off the mark. *None* of the various statements written by officials of the Harvard Black Law Students Association mention the dispute between Jack Greenberg and the National Lawyers Guild over providing legal assistance to civil rights workers in the South in the 1960s. Moreover, even if this had been included among the reasons for attacking Greenberg, my position would remain unchanged. I do not agree with the stance he took toward the National Lawyers Guild; perhaps, with the benefit of hindsight, Greenberg no longer agrees with it himself. I can readily understand, however, the tactical decision he made. It may not have been simply mindless anticommunism that drove him to eschew alliances with a group that unfortunately has long been slandered. It may well have been his dedication to the civil rights movement and to the Legal Defense Fund that made him unwilling to risk their legitimacy in the eyes of powerful supporters by working with a relatively small group of radical lawyers. It is worth pointing out that this same decision to reject help from left-wing supporters has frequently been made by other organizations—e.g., the N.A.A.C.P.—and other people—e.g., Martin Luther King Jr.—whose commitment to the cause of black rights is beyond cavil.

Finally, with respect to the controversy at Harvard, the black and Third World student organizations have wisely abandoned their attacks against Greenberg and have instead refocused attention on the real problem: the paucity of black professors, not the faults, real and imagined, of civil rights champions. *Randall Kennedy*

PEACE CRUISE: A FINAL NOTE

Sag Harbor, N.Y.

At the risk of prolonging an endless quibble, I answer Aryeh Neier's October 30 reply to my letter in the September 11 *Nation*. The ire of Neier is aroused by my suggestion that a "formal hidden agenda of contacting Soviet dissidents" is disrespectful of the host Soviet government and, worse, undermines the objectives of a peace tour. He speculates that those who went on the Volga peace cruise would "also consider it disrespectful to contact opponents of apartheid if they visited South Africa or to contact the mothers of the disappeared if they visited Argentina."

I hardly need point out that the situations are not parallel. Our government is not promoting a vicious and dangerous cold war with South Africa or Argentina, as it is against the Soviet Union. Considering this cold war and the Russian distrust of Americans, we felt lucky to be able to travel in this country, the home of our enemy. (Russians saying, "You can't trust Americans" came as a surprise to me on the tour. We interfered militarily in their revolution, we have used nuclear arms, we escalate the arms race, we have crime in our streets, we carry guns, we are a violent people—according to Russians we spoke with officially and unofficially.)

Of course dissidents should be supported and every means used to help them. But what could be viewed by Russians only as "dirty tricks" by American peace organizations traveling in the U.S.S.R. to try to reverse the cold war will hurt, not help, dissenters. And regardless of one's views on the Soviet Union, its government or communism, promoting peace between our countries must be given top priority if we wish to see the next century. *Judith Long*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 235, Number 15

LETTERS
450

EDITORIALS
451 Running Scared
452 The Third Brazil
452 Remembering Zion
453 Nobels: Chicago
Macondo
454 *Dispatches* *Kai Bird and Max Holland*

ARTICLES
456 But Will They Come?: The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement *Frank Donner*
466 How I Got the N.S.A. Files . . . : How Reagan Tried to Get Them Back *James Bamford*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
469 Eels and Nyberg: Lonely Walk: The Life of Senator Mark Hatfield
Fenwick: Speaking Up *Richard Lingeman*
471 Baudelaire: The Flowers of Evil
Howard, translator *Peter Brooks*
473 De Pizan: The Book of The City of Ladies *Tina Stiefel*
474 This World Begins On a Wharf (poem) *Wendy Battin*
474 Films *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Robert Grossman

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Kirkpatrick Sale; *Associate Editors,* Kai Bird, Janet Gold *(Copy)*; *Assistant Editor,* Eric Etheridge; *Literary Editor,* Katha Pollitt; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Judith Long, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon; *Interns,* Valerie Brown, Eric Friedman, Jon Gacioch, Michele Galen, Susan Milligan, Christopher Policano, Elise Urrutia. *On leave,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Richard Lingeman, Robert Sherrill.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Manager,* Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Customer Service,* Jonathan Sylbert; *Classified,* Virginia Cannon; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Laurie Lipper; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1982 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $35; two years, $65; six months, $17.50. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Running Scared

The desperate attempt to paint the motley nuclear freeze movement a monochromatic pink [see Frank Donner's special article, page 456] is, in a sense, a tribute to its self-renewing energy. The demonstrations, the referendums, the petitions, the letters—the passions—have obviously scared the Administration, which fears defeat on this highly symbolic issue.

Something has also scared elements of the so-called liberal establishment. *The Washington Post*, which first repeated a senatorial libel of two key antinuclear groups, subsequently apologized but in a way which insults Western peace activists, portraying them as pathetically easy marks for K.G.B. manipulators.

And *The New York Times*, while eschewing *The Post*'s smear tactics, felt compelled to urge its readers to vote no on the freeze because it is "a simplistic, sloganeering response to a complex issue." The freeze proposals, *The Times* seriously argues, could complicate the Administration's approach to negotiating arms reduction. In fact, of course, the Administration has yet to demonstrate that it has any real desire to wind down the arms race, and the probability is that a strong American commitment to a nuclear freeze could only improve the atmosphere in which negotiations are conducted.

If trendy elements of the liberal establishment don't support the freeze movement that is too bad, but it is less a comment on the movement than on these detractors. The movement will continue, and seems likely to gain new force no matter what the results of this week's elections. A new national pro-freeze alliance of twenty-seven organizations with an estimated membership of 20 million people has already been established.

One must not forget where the antinuclear movement got its start. It is important that some U.S. senators and others

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOV 2 1982

Johnson City, Tennessee

of the elite have signed on, but both the European movement and our own began in the grass roots and will grow from the grass roots. Ultimately, political pressure for a freeze can push arms negotiators on both sides beyond a freeze and on to genuine arms reduction—and, who knows, perhaps to a world without the threat of Armageddon. In concert with our European antinuclear allies, we can make a difference. Now is the time.

The Third Brazil

President Reagan's proposed trip to Brazil later this month is being read as a sign that Washington wants to put its stamp of approval on the legislative and gubernatorial elections scheduled there for November 15. Those elections, the first reasonably free ones since the military came to power in 1964 with an American armada waiting offshore to intervene if things went wrong, are taken as further evidence of the regime's much-vaunted political *abertura* (opening).

But the real significance of the President's visit is Washington's concern with Brazil's very shaky economic position—and, beyond that, with the heavily indebted nations of the Third World, whose instability threatens to bring down the whole delicate structure of the world's banking system.

Two years ago, one of Washington's leading financial experts neatly characterized the potential threat to the international economic order as being made up of three "Brazils." "The first 'Brazil,'" he said, "is Eastern Europe; the second is Mexico; and the third is Brazil itself. Of these three, the Brazilian 'Brazil' is the most dangerous." Since then the first two dominoes have fallen, and the world's bankers are now holding their breath—and pocketbooks—in fear that the real Brazil will soon be the next to go.

Indeed, Brazilians and bankers alike got quite a scare in September, when Brazil drew some 200 million Special Drawing Rights (more than $215 million) from its quota at the International Monetary Fund. Although this withdrawal was regarded as merely a technical matter, it was taken as an indication that the country is in trouble and will probably be in the market for more substantial borrowings soon. The word in financial circles in fact was that Brazil's foreign currency reserves were down to zero—perhaps even below zero—and that the country had kept itself going by the use of "creative accounting" to inflate its foreign currency holdings. It is universally expected that at some point within the next six months Brazil will be forced to go to the I.M.F., perhaps for as much as $3 billion a year for at least three years.

Such a move would be regarded in Brazil as a national humiliation, so naturally the government dares not take it before the elections. Instead, President João Baptista Figueiredo has scolded "the great powers" for putting nations like his own in a "straitjacket" and thus threatening the world with economic collapse. In a veiled reference to U.S. direction of the I.M.F., he has charged: "Certain countries endeavor to keep control over organizations which they appear to condemn if not to disappearance, at least to insignificance."

In addition to this rhetoric, Figueiredo has made a concerted effort to draw foreign capital into the country by trying to hold its real interest rates to about 40 percent (above the 100 percent inflation rate). Brazilian banks, of course, make out like bandits—they can borrow at 15 percent abroad and lend at 140 percent at home—but consumers and manufacturers have not benefited much and the economy has been plunged into a deep recession. Whatever foreign capital may have been attracted, it has not been enough to enable industries to purchase essential imports, and so unemployment is increasing and factories in some sectors are running at as little as 40 percent of capacity. As a further measure, the government last month prohibited the import of about 1,500 items—some of crucial importance—and announced a series of drastic cutbacks in government spending.

Brazil's travails are but one aspect of the continuing drama of the international financial crisis. As all countries are drawn into the swirling waters of this economic maelstrom, each becomes simultaneously a cause and an effect of the developing financial panic. Whether Brazil—or the world's economic system—can hold out is up for serious debate. And whether Brazil's—or the world's—people will stand for the cold-shower measures of austerity being prepared in the banks and finance ministries is more uncertain yet.

Remembering Zion

Not the least disservice of Menachem Begin, Jacobo Timerman points out, is that he degrades the memory of the Holocaust. Comparing Arafat to Hitler and the P.L.O. to the Nazis depreciates the evil of the "final solution." It also transforms what may be the greatest crime against humanity in history into a pretext for dehumanizing yet another uprooted, homeless people.

Timerman's book about his torture and imprisonment in Argentina demonstrated that writing well is the best revenge. Now, his forthcoming book, *The Longest War: Israel and Lebanon*, which has been serialized in *The New Yorker*, demonstrates that writing well may also be regenerative.

Though he takes to task the government of his adopted land of Israel on many counts and severely criticizes the way Israeli society is developing, Timerman simultaneously inspires the hope that all is not yet lost. Many, like Timerman, are still devoted both to Israel *and* to the ideals upon which it was founded. His attack, unlike those of many critics of Israel, is on the perversion of Zionism, not on Zionism itself. Timerman is a Zionist.

To rebuild a state that holds to the ideals of Zionism is a worthy cause. The effort can hardly begin without a clear-eyed and unsparing examination of what has gone wrong. That is what Timerman is providing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nobels: Chicago

George J. Stigler, this year's Nobelist in economics, stands as tall and speaks almost as wittily as John Kenneth Galbraith. Stigler's *Theory of Price* has baffled graduate students for a generation. The man's reputation among his peers has won him in years past the presidency of the American Economic Association, the profession's leading trade body. The Nobel citation plausibly credits him with significant contributions to the understanding of industrial organization, the impact of Federal regulation, the economics of information and the history of economic analysis.

Stigler is also a leading member of the "Chicago School" of economics and was for many years a colleague of Milton Friedman, now retired to the Hoover Institution on the salubrious West Coast. The Chicago view of the world is, for anyone except a trained economist, simple to the point of absurdity. Disregarding the presence of huge corporate beasts thrashing about in the marketplace and the market influence of large government, Chicago economists insist that ours is still a competitive economy, Adam Smith writ large, which responds sensitively to consumer wishes, rewards each of us according to our contribution to salable merchandise and allocates human and inanimate resources in the most efficient possible manner—or at least would do so in the absence of government regulations.

Of the four countries that currently follow Chicago advice, Chile remains one of the world's nastiest military dictatorships—an authoritarian regime of the sort much admired by Jeane Kirkpatrick—in total defiance of Friedman's assurance that political freedom soon follows economic liberty; Britain and the United States are enduring their highest unemployment rates since the Great Depression; and Israeli inflation gallops along at a three-figure pace.

Of course none of that would suffice to disqualify Stigler as a winner of the Nobel Prize *if* his scientific contribution were generally outstanding. But with all respect, Stigler has simply embellished an apparatus more than a century old to reach policy conclusions that, when they're not nonsensical, are actively harmful.

Wassily Leontief, the inventor of the important technique of input analysis, was a worthy recipient of the Nobel Prize. Another would be Joan Robinson, a pioneer analyst of imperfect competition and the inventor of a radical Keynesian theory of income distribution. Both have achieved breakthroughs in economics, an event, it should be embarrassingly clear, that is rare indeed.

But the Nobel committee seems to be setting its seal of approval mostly on economists in high professional repute who perform their works—good, bad or indifferent—within familiar boundaries. Increasingly, these worthy men—no women so far—are politically conservative. Attention must be paid, because the unique popular prestige of the word "Nobel" spreads the influence of Chicago economists here and abroad each time one of their disciples or fellow travelers is honored.

The Nobel committee could do worse than give next year's prize to Joan Robinson and then declare a ten-year moratorium.

Macondo

The Swedish Academy, which in recent years has devoted itself to discovering neglected and obscure writers, commendably awarded this year's Nobel Prize in Literature to Gabriel García Márquez, whose books sell in large numbers throughout the world. The Colombian-born author's popularity aside (even though the Academy rather defensively cited it, presumably to show it wasn't elitist), the honor was richly deserved on literary merits alone.

Not since Faulkner invented Yoknapatawpha County has a writer so imbued his native postage stamp of earth with legend. With the village of Macondo in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, García Márquez created a complex metaphor for the Latin American condition. Like an African *griot*, he spun a generational chronicle of blood, fecundity and exploitation, in which the real and the fabulous intermingle freely as in a dream. Indeed, he dreamed a continent and its history. The past, he could say with Faulkner, "why it's not even *past*." Or as he wrote, its "annihilation had not taken place because it was still in a process of annihilation, consuming itself from within, ending at every moment but never ending its ending."

The dark, cruel history he visualized so powerfully in his novels drove García Márquez to political action, as a journalist and as a citizen, in alliance with the parties of change in Latin America, which are seeking to expunge the ancient legacy of injustice and create a better future. Although there are political echoes up and down the labyrinthine corridors of his novels, his vision is not that of any party, sect or ideology but his own.

In its own labyrinthine way, the U.S. State Department has ignored the artist and focused on his politics, denying him a visa to enter this country on the false and irrelevant grounds that he is a Communist. The restriction was partially lifted in 1971 so that the writer could receive an honorary doctorate from Columbia University; and now, by a curious dispensation comprehensible only to the bureaucratic mind, García Márquez is allowed an entry visa whenever he applies, but it is stamped "For lecture at Columbia University." How Kafkaesque—no *Garcíaesque*; for this absurd comedy partakes of the fabulous, almost like one of his tales.

In *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, there is a character known as the old Catalan, who leaves Macondo with a huge manuscript he is working on. When, against his wishes, the railroad inspectors try to ship the manuscript as freight, he explodes, "The world must be all fucked up when men travel first class and literature goes as freight." García Márquez's literature travels first class in this country but the man is treated like freight, consigned "For lecture at Columbia University." Garcíaesque.

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISPATCHES.

■ ANGOLA: Savimbi's Ties

It isn't every day that journalists are given license to rummage through the files of a secret police agency. So when the Portuguese Army recently invited one and all to inspect the files of the once-notorious, now-disbanded, Policia Internacional do Estado (PIDE) in Lisbon, everyone was eager to R.S.V.P. But by the time they arrived, the files had already been "sanitized" by the military, by the Communist Party and by various left-wing factions. Missing, for example, were all documents concerning Portugal's lengthy war against Mozambique, where the army has been accused of being party to more than one massacre.

Nonetheless, the journalists managed to unearth a few items of interest. A Reuters correspondent found a cable dated September 19, 1972, that provides a few more details about Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Unita guerrilla organization in Angola. The top-secret cable summarizes a meeting between Savimbi and Portuguese agents in Angola. Unita was widely assumed to be fighting against the Portuguese at that time, but the cable shows Savimbi reported to them about an ambush he had carried out against a thirty-man squadron of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (M.P.L.A.), his rival in the war for independence.

Thus it appears that Savimbi was working for the Portuguese as early as 1972. Three years later, as we know from John Stockwell's book, *In Search of Enemies*, he went on the payroll of the C.I.A. PIDE evidently passed a good thing on to the C.I.A.

Savimbi, who is still fighting (and has recently escalated) his war against the M.P.L.A. government in Luanda, remains the darling of the foreign powers intervening there. One of them is South Africa. Several weeks ago, in an interview with Tom Vosloo, editor of the Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld*, Savimbi described himself as an "ally of Pretoria" in the struggle for Africa. "I do not hide my ties with South Africa," he said.

■ SOUTH KOREA: Labor Pains

After Gen. Chun Doo Hwan seized power in South Korea in December 1979, he made union-busting one of his top priorities. Under the rubric of "purification," new laws were promulgated to weaken the power of organized labor. One statute has proved particularly efficient: it outlaws formal ties between union locals and their national councils. Cut off from their parent bodies, the locals have become easy targets for replacement by management-run unions. At the Wonpoong Textile Company in Seoul one of the last autonomous locals is fighting for survival. The Wonpoong Labor Union has an illustrious record. At one time, labor conditions at the Wonpoong plant were worse than those at any other textile factory in South Korea. But after a 1972 strike, which established the workers' right to elect their own representatives, the union set up a credit union, a consumers' cooperative, a scholarship program and even a barber shop and beauty parlor for workers. The union's reputation was further enhanced when it cooperated with management in 1973 to bring the factory out of bankruptcy. And in 1976, the Wonpoong contract talks set the pace for the entire South Korean textile industry.

The culmination of a two-year campaign to dismantle the Wonpoong union began in late September, when 100 men dressed in company uniforms ransacked the union offices. On September 27, the president of the union was abducted by plainclothes police officers, beaten unconscious and released on the outskirts of Seoul at 4 A.M. the next day. This precipitated a strike, marked by bloody clashes between demonstrators and police, that lasted for more than two weeks.

The factory has reopened, but several hundred workers have yet to return to their jobs. Most union leaders have been fired and are in hiding, and police officials have announced that they intend to arrest them on a variety of charges, including destruction of company property and violation of the collective bargaining law.

■ TAIWAN: Waste Not

Taiwan may have stumbled across a solution to a problem that has taxed the imagination of many industrialized countries. Authorities there have apparently developed safe and economical storage facilities for nuclear waste.

The key to the solution, Taiwanese officials say, was their discovery that radioactive waste is not a health hazard. To demonstrate as much, Minister of Economic Affairs Chao Yao-tung recently rode in a truck loaded with barrels of radioactive waste. He later told the *China Post*, "If nuclear waste material is a threat to life, let me be the first to die."

Yao-tung's truck was but one of those that have transported a total of 12,000 barrels to Orchid Island, off the southeast coast of Taiwan. The untreated waste is residue from the Chinshan power plant near Taipei, operated by the Taiwan Power Company, a government-owned utility.

The government-controlled press reports that inhabitants of Orchid Island are proud that it has been selected as the site of Taiwan's first nuclear dump. Some island residents are even urging the government to declare the site an "official national tourist attraction."

Think of it: Orchid Island—the hot spot of the Pacific. Come and get away from it all. Permanently.

■ IRAN: Eating Its Children

The most prominent wall slogan in Teheran today reads "A man's honor is his beard. Death to those without honor!" That may seem madness, but there is method in it.

The struggle for power in Iran is still fought on the battlefield of religious piety. As popular support for the Khomeini regime has begun to ebb with the rationing of basic foodstuffs, rising unemployment and the casualties of the two-year-old Iran-Iraq war, hundreds of clerics have been assassinated in terrorist attacks. While there is no danger that the hirsute clerics will lose power so long as Khomeini is alive, the government has seen fit to launch a cultural revolution against Western influence to preserve their position.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

Not only does this keep alive the specter of Western intervention in Iran's internal affairs but it purges the regime of its most potent challengers. Thus a beard becomes the badge of Islamic purity.

The generally whiskerless, Western-educated intelligentsia was long ago targeted for elimination. (Since June 1981, when Abolhassan Bani-Sadr left office, Amnesty International estimates that a minimum of 2,444 people have been executed.) But these university students, teachers and professionals never had any organized political constituency that could pose a threat to the clerics. Nor did Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, Iran's foreign minister during the hostage crisis, who was executed in September.

A far greater threat to the regime may come from the countryside, judging by the execution on October 2 of Khosrow Qashqa'i. The traditional leader of 200,000 to 300,000 nomads in southern Iran, Qashqa'i was hanged in the presence of members of his tribe in the central square of Shiraz.

Qashqa'i had impeccable antimonarchist credentials and was not associated with any of the anti-Khomeini guerrilla groups. In the early 1950s he supported Mohammed Mossadegh, and in 1962 and 1963 he fought against the Shah's ill-conceived White Revolution. His father was executed by the Shah, and he and his three brothers were exiled. After the February 1979 revolution he returned to Iran.

The province of Sars elected him to Parliament in the spring of 1980. But his credentials did not pass muster with the Khomeini-controlled Parliament, and he was never officially recognized as a member. Finally, Qashqa'i was arrested last September—beardless.

His execution suggests that the regime in Teheran, worried by the erosion of its urban following, now feels it must target leaders of traditional constituencies in the countryside who might pose a threat to the central government.

A nineteenth-century German writer, Georg Büchner, wrote that "the Revolution is like Saturn—it eats its own children."

■ JAPAN: Hidden Persuasion

A document recently leaked out of a government-owned monopoly, the Japan Tobacco and Salt Corporation (J.T.S.), provides a rare insight into how the Japanese "model economy" really works. Faced with competition from foreign cigarette brands, J.T.S. issued a six-page document telling its sales and promotion staff how to respond: "Curb stocking of imported cigarettes in vending machines" and "remove point-of-purchase promotion items for imported cigarettes in prominent locations." The *Asian Wall Street Journal* reports that the J.T.S. sales force indeed made the rounds of retailers, ripping down foreign display posters and ordering shopkeepers not to stock imported cigarettes in small vending machines.

American tobacco exporters are naturally indignant. "If American-made cigarettes were allowed to gain just 10 percent of the Japanese market," says a representative of Philip Morris International, "the imbalance in trade would be reduced by half a billion dollars." The U.S. trade deficit with Japan last year ran some $18 billion, so even the most vigorous tobacco marketing couldn't do much to rectify that gross imbalance. Hidden protectionism, such as that outlined in the J.T.S. document, is a constant source of tension in Japanese-American relations.

In an apparent attempt to deflect criticism from abroad, the government last month called on a group of thirty high-level Japanese businessmen to increase imports in order to correct the "mistaken impression among foreign observers that the Japanese market is indeed closed."

But it is unlikely that Japan's five great trading houses (*zaibatsus*) will respond to such exhortations, given the fact that this year, for the first time in two decades, the country's exports failed to register an increase. The odds are good that next year the Japanese will not be driving many Chevys—or smoking much Virginia blend.

■ HUNGARY: Peace in Pulpit and Park

Father Gyorgy Bulanyi is in the habit of giving ardently pacifist sermons from his Budapest pulpit. Not surprisingly, they don't go down too well with the Hungarian commissars, in part because conscientious objection to military service is illegal in Hungary. But they seem to have worried the Catholic Church as well, since they depart from the ordained doctrine, and the Hungarian Bishops' Conference has recently suspended Father Bulanyi from publicly celebrating Mass or preaching.

The move is of special importance because Father Bulanyi is the leading spokesman for peace activists associated with the "basic community" movement. The basic communities, lay religious groups, first appeared in the late 1960s and now number some 300, with thirty to forty people in each. They form the nucleus of a movement that could someday give the government serious political problems.

There appears to be no relationship between the two, but the authorities must be equally worried by the growth of a secular peace organization, the Anti-Nuclear Campaign (A.N.C.), which sprang up a year ago in secondary schools. Ferenc Koszegi, a Budapest academic who will put out a pamphlet this month on the Hungarian peace movement (with a preface by E.P. Thompson), writes that the group has approximately 150 formal members. Some of them recently occupied a park in Budapest and renamed it "A.N.C. Park."

Koszegi notes: "Since the socialist countries are officially supporting the peace movement in Western countries, it would be most embarrassing if they were to openly prohibit such developments in their own country." And, he adds, "This would be a great blow to the peace movement in the Western countries as well, giving the forces of militarism a powerful propaganda weapon with which to influence public opinion"—an interesting example of the "interlocking relationship between the peace movements East and West."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

But Will They Come?

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement

FRANK DONNER

Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man;
But will they come when you do call for them?
—William Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part I

The American past offers nothing in the way of anti-government protest comparable to the nuclear freeze movement in numbers, geographic scope, social and economic diversity, extent of organizational involvement and depth of commitment.

The proposal for a mutual freeze—on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons, as an essential, verifiable first step toward reducing the risk of nuclear war—is supported by more than 276 city councils around the nation. In addition, 446 New England town meetings, 56 county councils, 11 state legislatures from Hawaii to New York and one chamber of 6 other state legislative bodies have voted to endorse the freeze. More than 2.3 million people from rural, semirural, suburban and urban areas have signed freeze petitions circulated by a host of organizations and coalitions—many local ad hoc committees, others national and long active in the peace movement.

Ballot victories have been scored in at least seven referendums in state senatorial districts. In September, Wisconsin voters overwhelmingly favored the freeze in a statewide referendum. In October, the voters of Anchorage and Juneau, Alaska, supported the freeze. Nine states, the District of Columbia and the cities of Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as numerous towns and counties, are voting on the freeze proposal in this week's elections.

The institutional endorsers of the freeze include religious, professional, educational, minority rights, arts, labor and scientific organizations. Among the religious endorsers are 140 Roman Catholic bishops, the National Council of Churches, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the United Presbyterian Church, the American Baptist Church (Annual Meeting), Benedictines for Peace, the Catholic Peace Fellowship, the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council, the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, the Mennonite Central Committee, the National Federation of Priests' Council, the Rabbinical Assembly, the Unitarian Universalist Association, the United Methodist Church Board of Church and Society and the World Council of Churches, Central Committee. Secular organizations include the National Education Association, Common Cause, the Council for a Livable World, labor unions like the United Automobile Workers and the International Association of Machinists and such veteran peace groups as the American Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, SANE, the War Resisters League and Women Strike for Peace.

It must be stressed that these groups are not passive supporters but active participants. They work with local networks, committees and coalitions to organize demonstrations, gather signatures, lobby, write letters to the press, sponsor films and lectures and distribute literature. There are now freeze canvassing cadres in more than 190 Congressional districts.

The growing list of prominent individuals who have endorsed the freeze includes former Director of Central Intelligence William Colby, former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, former Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, three former ambassadors to the Soviet Union, U.S. Marine Corps Maj. Gen. William Fairbourn of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and several career officers, including Gen. James Gavin, Adm. Noel Gayler and Vice Adm. Ralph Weymouth. Other supporters are Herbert York, former director of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, four Nobel laureates, including atomic physicist Hans Bethe, and columnists Ann Landers and James Kilpatrick.

A Senate resolution sponsored by Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield, a slightly modified version of the freeze proposal, was introduced on March 10 and promptly attracted 25 co-sponsors in the Senate and 125 in the House. A House resolution introduced by Clement Zablocki, which also included a call for approval of SALT II, was narrowly defeated (204 to 202) on August 5—an imposing result particularly because, according to *In These Times*, 2,000 corporate lobbyists opposing the freeze twisted Congressional arms before the vote.

It is only one measure of the depth of support for the freeze in the land that it inspired the largest demonstration in the history of the United States, the gathering of nearly a million people in New York City last June 12 on the occasion of the United Nations second special session on disarmament.

Frank Donner, author of The Age of Surveillance *(Knopf), is a longtime specialist on the activities of the American right.* *He wishes to acknowledge the research contributions of Sam Delson and Eric Friedman.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fearmongers in High Places

It is plain that the instincts and convictions of the freeze supporters are rooted solidly in the American tradition of liberal humanism, a social vision reflecting a concern for the lives and fates of others. The critics and opponents of the freeze, however, the paladins of unlimited weaponry, are committed to the modern secular religion of a long, twilight struggle with the Soviet Union in which our ultimate victory is assured by our moral superiority. At bottom this is a conflict between a constituency tormented by the vision of worldwide death and destruction and one for whom nuclear confrontation is worth risking to achieve the conquest of the Soviet Union and world domination.

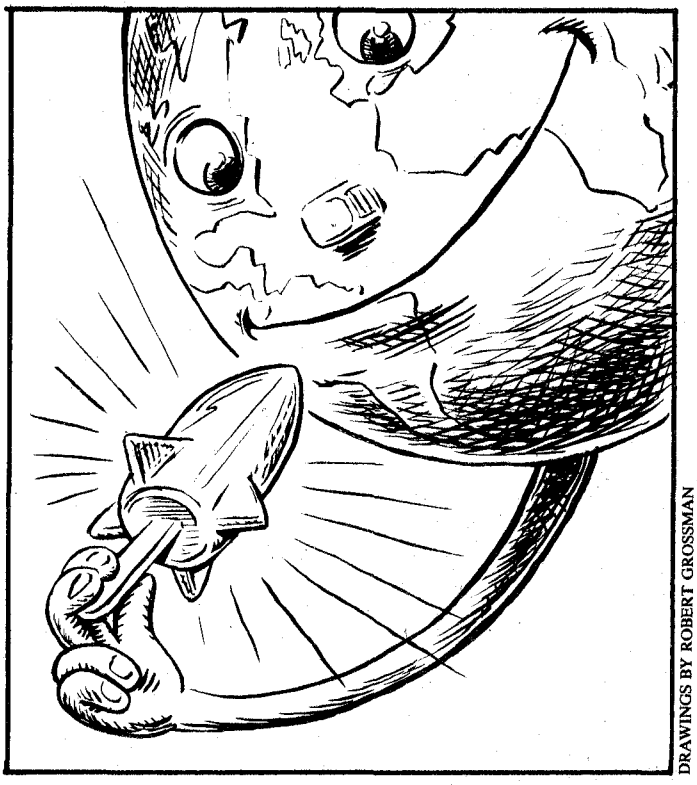
The anti-freeze campaign relies in large part on the use of fear, the most efficient weapon in the American political arsenal. One of its goals, which the right has been pressing for years, is to instill the fear of Soviet aggression so as to gain support for nuclear confrontation and its preparations; but another, newer goal—and in these days an increasingly important one—is to instill the fear that the freeze movement is Soviet-inspired and manipulated by agents and their dupes. This is unquestionably a risky gambit, given the scope and diversity of the movement and a climate generally unreceptive to McCarthyite Red-baiting, but the Reagan Administration and its allies in Congress and along the Far Right obviously feel that the unprecedented outpouring for peace demands an all-out response.

The President himself has joined in the fray. In a speech to a veterans' group in Ohio on October 4, he said the freeze campaign, a movement "that's sweeping across the country," is "inspired by not the sincere, honest people who want peace, but by some who want the weakening of America and so are manipulating honest people and sincere people." (Subsequently rebuked for Red-baiting, he replied he "did not have any Americans in mind." This, it should be noted, repeats an earlier Administration charge that the Soviet Union controls the European peace movement.) The "dupe" formulation is designed, of course, to make Reagan's attack more credible in view of the immense size of the domestic movement, the unassailable political, professional and religious credentials of the freeze activists and the pitifully depleted ranks of the U.S. Communist Party. Because the dupe charge pays lip service to the sincerity of the duped innocents, it has become the armature for the anti-freeze movement, both its "respectable" sectors and its more garish nativist counterparts.

Finding plausible links between these domestic dupes and their Soviet masters is the task assigned to the New Right. Its most prominent spokesman is Jeremiah Denton, Senator from Alabama and head of the Security and Terrorism Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

A few days before the Reagan remarks, Denton spoke on the floor of the Senate in opposition to an amendment offered by Dale Bumpers (and co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of thirty-five senators) proposing that October 10 be proclaimed National Peace Day. The amendment was approved by a large majority in a voice vote, but Denton provoked a bitter clash by charging that one organization supporting the resolution, Peace Links–Women Against Nuclear War, chaired by Bumpers's wife, Betty, was tainted with subversion and "lends itself to exploitation by the Soviet Union." No fewer than four organizations represented on the Peace Links advisory board, he insisted, "are either Soviet controlled or openly sympathetic with, and advocates for, Communist foreign policy objectives," and two other board members are "radical, left-oriented." To bolster his extraordinary charges, Denton placed in the record forty-five agate-type pages of smear literature, mostly from the Far Right. (He also for some unaccountable reason included two State Department documents dealing only marginally with domestic matters or Peace Links; an article by pollster Louis Harris on the women's vote; another about activists in the Boston-based Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament [WAND]; a *New York Times* story about Peace Links' plans; and a statement by Representative Patricia Schroeder on the "Stop the Arms Race Campaign.")

In the tumult that followed, as many angry senators clamored for the floor, Patrick Leahy and Paul Tsongas rebuked Denton, pointing out that their wives were confederates of Betty Bumpers. Senator Bumpers himself mockingly explained that his wife was not a K.G.B. agent. Gary Hart joined in denouncing Denton for his McCarthyist conduct, but he went further: he said he hoped the Senate would be equally ready to recognize McCarthyism if the victim was not a senator's wife. Then Hart, arguing that "the policy of the United States for over twenty years has been to seek bilateral disarmament," confronted Denton in these words: "The Senator seeks to link by scurrilous, conspiratorial, ideological literature people who seek to promote that policy with the Communist threat and the Com-



DRAWINGS BY ROBERT GROSSMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munist menace." Reaching a climax, he pointed a finger at Denton and said: "I intend consciously and on purpose to breach the protocol of the U.S. Senate and . . . say to the Senator from Alabama, 'Shame on you.' "

A defense of Denton by Jesse Helms and John East did not improve matters. Helms referred to Denton's sufferings "at the hands of brutal communist tyrants"—he had been a prisoner of war in North Vietnam—and East falsely maintained that nothing Denton had said could be "interpreted as a personal affront to Mrs. Bumpers." The best defense, or at least extenuation, of Denton's performance was that of Bill Bradley, who said the Senator was "confused."

The senators may have found Denton's attack unfounded, but the dangerous effect of that sort of airing even of scurrilous nonsense can be seen in the response of *The Washington Post*. A few days later, on October 6, it published an editorial deploring the Reagan-Denton slurs but picking up Denton's charge that two groups connected to Peace Links—the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace—are Soviet fronts or dupes. The editorial generously conceded that the two groups "have the right" to soil themselves as fronts. But why, it went on, "does Peace Links abide the taint that even the slightest connection to a Soviet stooge group imparts?"

The national leaders of the W.I.L.P.F. and W.S.P. promptly responded with detailed, documented refutations of the smear, printed on October 9. These epistles were accompanied by a vigorous protest by the A.C.L.U., pointing out that the implication of the editorial was that Peace Links "should dissociate itself from such organizations, so it does not invite the kind of attacks by President Reagan and Senator Denton. Is *The Post* suggesting that Peace Links should impose a loyalty oath: 'Are you now or have you ever been a Soviet front or connected with one?' Should this test come in the form of a list of suspect groups—drawn up, for example, by the attorney general—so Peace Links will know who to avoid in order not to be branded a 'Soviet stooge' by Senator Denton or President Reagan or *The Post* itself?"

The letters produced an editorial retraction, printed on the same day, admitting that "the available public record" did not support its charge. The following Tuesday, October 12, Robert McCloskey, *The Post*'s ombudsman, applauded the retraction and explained that the slurring editorial had reached "faulty conclusions" and "lost its bearings" by relying too literally on a State Department report. The next day *The Philadelphia Inquirer* added its protest and noted, "The slur ironically was committed in an editorial accusing the others of smearing the peace movement."

Publicists on the Far Right

The main movers of the anti-freeze campaign—those who feed the likes of Denton—are ideologues and publicists on the Far Right. They serve a considerable network of groups and lobbies and foundations and think tanks, and their views are expressed by any number of columnists and commentators and journals and newsletters, but to a remarkable degree the key themes pour out from a small coterie of true believers.

Chief among them is a veteran Red-hunter (and a protégé of right-wing Representative Larry McDonald), John Rees. Rees, who has been the publisher of a periodical called *Information Digest* since 1968 and is the Washington correspondent for the John Birch Society's weekly, *The Review of the News*, also had a career as a spy. In the late 1960s, he and his wife—she subsequently joined McDonald's staff—penetrated the left community in Washington, D.C. Later, while disguised as a cleric, he posed as a member of a group contesting a Georgia utility company's proposed nuclear plant.

Until the mid-1970s, Rees was shunned by mainstream Red-baiters as an extremist, serving as a foil, if you will, for their "moderate" credentials. The Birch forces were the only ones to see him as "an internationally respected investigative journalist." Today, however, even the *National Review* calls his reporting on the peace movement "meticulously documented," and his authority as a reliable source is glibly assumed by publications such as *Barron's* and *Reader's Digest*.

Rees became a leader of the anti-freeze pack with the publication, accompanied by his own typically hugger-mugger annotations, of a memorandum dated February 21 to philanthropist Stewart Mott from an aide, Anne Zill. Although it was referred to by the Far Right media as a zealously guarded secret document wrested from its subversive source by skillful deception and derring-do—inserting it in the *Congressional Record*, McDonald mentioned how "Mr. Rees had uncovered this Moscow directed 'Peace' offensive strategy"—the memorandum had in fact already been distributed to at least 150 people.

The Zill memorandum was nothing more than a description of the organizational components of the peace movement, with an introduction on its transformation from a rather despairing campaign into a creative, energetic enterprise, but Rees managed to give it a heavily subversive slant. After a reference to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, for example, Rees wrote: "In the U.S., the W.I.L.P.F. has been thoroughly penetrated by members of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; it has had a program for the past 20 years of exchange visits of Soviet and U.S. 'peace activists.' " Not only that, but "the W.I.L.P.F. works closely with the World Peace Council and its sister front, the Women's International Democratic Federation," and, as anyone on the right knows, "the World Peace Council is a wholly owned subsidiary of the Soviet Union."

Indeed, the W.P.C. does seem to serve as the *fons et origo* of the entire right-wing analysis. Based in Helsinki, Finland, it is said to be—by no less than Reagan himself ("Oh, those demonstrations," he said in a television interview, "these are all sponsored by a thing called the World Peace Council, which is bought and paid for by the Soviet Union")—the main channel of Soviet propaganda and the Rasputin of the European disarmament movement. The fact that the W.P.C. is recognized by the United Nations as a nongovernmental organization and has been invited to participate in

LICENSED BY NEWSBANK
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NATION BOOK MART

The Arms Race

STOP NUCLEAR WAR
PROTEST AND SURVIVE
Edited by E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith
Introduction by Daniel Ellsberg
Debate on DISARMAMENT
THE DAY BEFORE DOOMSDAY
Sidney Lens
When the Wind Blows
KILLING OUR OWN
THE DISASTER OF AMERICA'S EXPERIENCE WITH ATOMIC RADIATION
HARVEY WASSERMAN AND NORMAN SOLOMON
THE NUCLEAR DELUSION
SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE ATOMIC AGE - BY
GEORGE F. KENNAN

This holiday season, The Nation Book Mart is offering a special selection of 15 outstanding books on the most compelling issue of our time. The Pentagon is preparing plans to "prevail" in a nuclear exchange; it's time to take Peace on Earth seriously. For your friends and family—and yourself—give the gift of peace.

THIS YEAR, GIVE A GIFT THAT MATTERS.

THE FINAL EPIDEMIC
Ruth Adams and Susan Cullen. Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science (1981). $6.45 Paper. An anthology of essays focusing on effects of a nuclear attack. ANM1

DEBATE ON DISARMAMENT
Michael Clark and Marjorie Mowlam. Routledge & Kegan Paul (1982). $9.45 Paper. An anthology of thoughtful essays on the arms race, concerning NATO, media coverage, etc. ANM2

WHEN THE WIND BLOWS
Raymond Briggs. Schocken Books (1982). $10.95 Cloth. A compelling look at the effects of nuclear war upon an elderly British couple, in comic book form. ANM3

FAREWELL TO ARMS
W.H. Ferry. Fellowship of Reconciliation (1978). $2.50 Pamphlet. An unusually clear presentation of the case for unilateral disarmament. ANM4

THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY II
Tom Gervasi. Grove Press (1981). $12.45 Paper. A concise, well-written reference book covering U.S. arms exports, deployment, foreign policy, arms systems and more. ANM5

THE BAROQUE ARSENAL
Mary Kaldor. Hill and Wang (1981). $8.75 Paper. Concerning rearmament strategies that fail to take into account social, economic and military realities. ANM6

THE NUCLEAR DELUSION
George Kennan. Pantheon (1982). $15.45 Cloth. A collection of essays by elder statesman Kennan, spanning thirty years. In this invaluable contribution to current debates, he advocates an important new approach to detente. ANM7

DAY BEFORE DOOMSDAY
Sidney Lens. Beacon Press (1981). $8.00 Paper. Focuses on the prevailing myths used to justify the growth of America's nuclear stockpiles. ANM8

INDEFENSIBLE WEAPONS
Robert J. Lifton and Richard Falk. Basic Books (1982). $8.45 Paper. Presents and debunks the underlying premises—both psychological and political—of superpower nuclear strategies. ANM9

THINKING ABOUT THE NEXT WAR
Thomas Powers. Alfred A. Knopf (1982). $12.95 Cloth. A collection of eloquent essays that first appeared in *Commonweal* magazine. ANM10

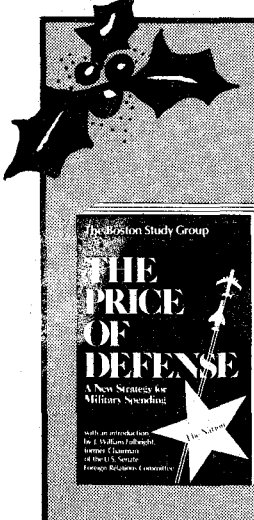
THE FATE OF THE EARTH
Jonathan Schell. Avon Books (1982). $4.00 Paper. The classic work on the wide-range effects of nuclear war. ANM11

WITH ENOUGH SHOVELS
Robert Scheer. Random House (1982). $16.45 Cloth. Portrays the men who are behind the drift toward nuclear war. ANM12

BEYOND THE COLD WAR
E.P. Thompson. Pantheon (1981). $7.45 Paper. Explores the ideologies behind the arms race and the cold war, and posits clear and forceful alternatives. ANM13

PROTEST & SURVIVE
E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith. Monthly Review Press (1981). $6.45 Paper. A seminal work on the clear and present danger of nuclear war; contains an appeal for a nuclear-free Europe. ANM14

KILLING OUR OWN
Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon. Delacorte/Delta (1982). $21.45 Cloth. Accounts from those who've suffered the effects of nuclear radiation, from Hiroshima to the present. ANM15



HOLIDAY BOOK BONUS

A FREE copy of the special Nation edition of **THE PRICE OF DEFENSE** (a $4.95 value.) with any order exceeding $30.

To Order. . .

Please be sure to include order number for each book. Include additional sheets if necessary. All prices include $1.50 for postage and handling. Foreign orders, U.S. equivalent funds only. Offer expires March 1983. Prepaid orders only.

Number	Quantity	Title	Paper	Cloth	Price

☐ YES! My order exceeds $30; please send me a FREE copy of *The Price of Defense.*

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

Subtotal $_____

New York State residents add 8¼% sales tax $_____

TOTAL $_____

Mail check or money order to: The Nation Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 NB8240

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

official discussions on disarmament and colonialism does not seem to diminish its sinister character.

The American affiliate of the W.P.C. is the United States Peace Council, cast not only as the link to the domestic peace movement but as its main fomenter and guide. The Peace Council, which has chapters across the country, has some Communist Party members in its midst, but it also has members from Congress, state legislatures, city councils and legal and religious groups.

Rees uses as the cornerstone of his conspiracy theorizing a meeting held at New York City's Riverside Church in October 1981 by some seventy-two groups, including not only the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Peace Fellowship, the International Association of Machinists, the War Resisters League and Clergy and Laity Concerned but—you guessed it!—the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and their splinter groups. To these must be added "Vietniks" (also referred to in some right-wing publications as "the usual crazies") like Cora Weiss, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr. and ex-priest Paul Mayer. "The leadership role," in this conference, according to Rees, "was taken openly by representatives of Communist Party front groups, by the U.S. affiliates of international Soviet fronts, and by other organizations that have close ties with Soviet fronts"—in other words, they are controlled by the Kremlin through the World Peace Council.

The Rees line is simple. A political voyeur, he eyes his victims through subversion-colored spyglasses, working on the fixed assumption that peace activists are *prima facie* Communists whose Soviet parentage he then proceeds to establish through intricate and frequently invented lines of consanguinity. For example, to smear the American Committee on East-West Accord, he points out that "its leaders have consistently urged U.S. trade, foreign policy and arms control concessions to the USSR in order to promote 'detente,' " and its newsletter "carries articles promoting the extreme view standard among radical disarmament groups that any use of nuclear weapons will bring total extinction of all life on earth." One of the committee's chairs is Seymour Melman, who as co-chairman of SANE is already tainted enough but who also "provided a strident attack on the concept of U.S. defense" at a March conference; the other is George Kennan, whose policy of Soviet "containment" meant that "the U.S. would refrain from contesting Soviet control of Eastern Europe" and who is further suspect for falling into the Moscow trap of calling on "the U.S. to immediately reduce its number of nuclear weapons by 50%."

In Rees's mind, the real threat of the peace activists is explained by the thesis that what the freeze movement's insiders really have in mind is unilateral disarmament, a goal he calls feasible only for those who see nothing wrong with the Soviet conquest of the world. To achieve that ultimate objective, the K.G.B. has initiated a vast "disinformation" campaign, and its dastardly plot in this country has been prefigured by its success in capturing the European peace movement. "Our point," Rees has written, "is that the Soviet Union is running the current worldwide disarmament campaign through the K.G.B. and front organizations led by the World Peace Council. Leaders of the U.S. disarmament groups are up to their necks in this effort."*

Polemics Among the Respectable

Rees's grotesque linkage of virtually all disarmament and freeze initiatives to Soviet Communism has been sanctified by articles from other true believers in more respectable rightist organs such as *The Wall Street Journal*, *The American Spectator*, *Barron's* and *Reader's Digest*. Perhaps the most influential and widely cited articles in this genre are "The Building Blocks of the Freeze Movement," a *Wall Street Journal* piece by Dorothy Rabinowitz, a contributor to *Commentary* since the late 1960s, and Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac's long article in *The American Spectator*, "The Counterfeit Peacemakers: Atomic Freeze." Both articles appeared on the eve of the June 12 freeze demonstration and were clearly intended to discredit the demonstrators by subversifying the rally's principal sponsors.

The Rabinowitz article makes the peace movement part of a wider U.S.-Soviet conflict in which any group questioning American policies—especially if it uses the term "imperialism" and is insufficiently hostile to the Soviet Union—is ipso facto subversive. According to Rabinowitz, not only have such groups as the W.I.L.P.F., the American Friends Service Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Clergy and Laity Concerned and the War Resisters League betrayed their pacifist commitment but many have actually supported revolution; their newsletters, moreover, "contain no word of condemnation for the invasion of Afghanistan or the events in Poland." The W.R.L. is characterized as a "nominally pacifist group . . . whose chief energies are today spent advancing the cause of world revolution."

Veteran peace activist and W.R.L. leader David McReynolds responded to the last charge in a letter to *The Journal*: "This is simply and categorically untrue—either Rabinowitz knows better and was lying, or she is incompetent and therefore misleading." (Interestingly, *The Journal* chose to delete this from the version it printed.) The F.O.R. similarly denounced Rabinowitz's accusation that it was pro-Soviet, noting its sponsorship—along with the A.F.S.C. and the W.R.L.—of a demonstration in front of the Soviet mission in New York City protesting the invasion of Afghanistan. To the equally false charge of silence on Poland, the F.O.R. pointed to an editorial it published in support of Solidarity

* One of Rees's most ardent admirers, it should be noted, is Reed Irvine, head of Accuracy In Media, whose *AIM Report* devoted an entire issue (May 1) to "The New Nuke Hysteria." This recycled the Rees *oeuvre*, including the Zill memorandum, with an emphasis on how the media betray the country by keeping from readers and viewers all that hot dope peddled by Rees. (The press was even silent about a protocol agreed on by the organizers of the October Riverside Church conference: despite their private conviction that the United States is the real culprit in the arms race, they would achieve credibility by addressing both contending parties.) Irvine also complained that NBC gave too much time (four and a half minutes) to an interview with a Soviet peace spokesman (Stanislaw Menshikov) and about an hourlong CBS documentary on the perils of a nuclear explosion as well as a ten-minute segment on the horrors of nuclear war. He was especially aroused by a PBS documentary, "Thinking Twice About Nuclear War," which had the gall to tell viewers about a source of further information on the subject.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and noted that, unlike its anti-Communist critics, it refused to remain silent about the plight of workers in El Salvador, South Korea and the Philippines.

Rabinowitz sniffs a subversive scent everywhere. Not only in quotations, which she takes almost uniformly out of context, from peace group literature—as, for example, the observation in a W.I.L.P.F. report that "the healthy relation of the individual to society is a priority in Cuba"—but even in titles, such as a 1981 flyer from the F.O.R. and the Methodist Peace Fellowship, "Anti-Soviet Fixation Rules the U.S." and two W.I.L.P.F. pamphlets, "Who Sets the Pace for the Arms Race?" and "The Myth of the Soviet Threat."

Rabinowitz, predictably, finds the U.S. Peace Council particularly sinister. She argues—mark this well—that "there is almost no distinguishable difference between the foreign policy pronouncements . . . of the U.S. Peace Council . . . that the main threat to world peace is the U.S. military industrial machine" and "similar statements by officials" of other domestic peace groups. Therefore, she warns, "those multitudes now enlisting in their ranks would do well to consider these credentials and to ponder just whose music it is they will be marching to behind the nuclear freeze banners."

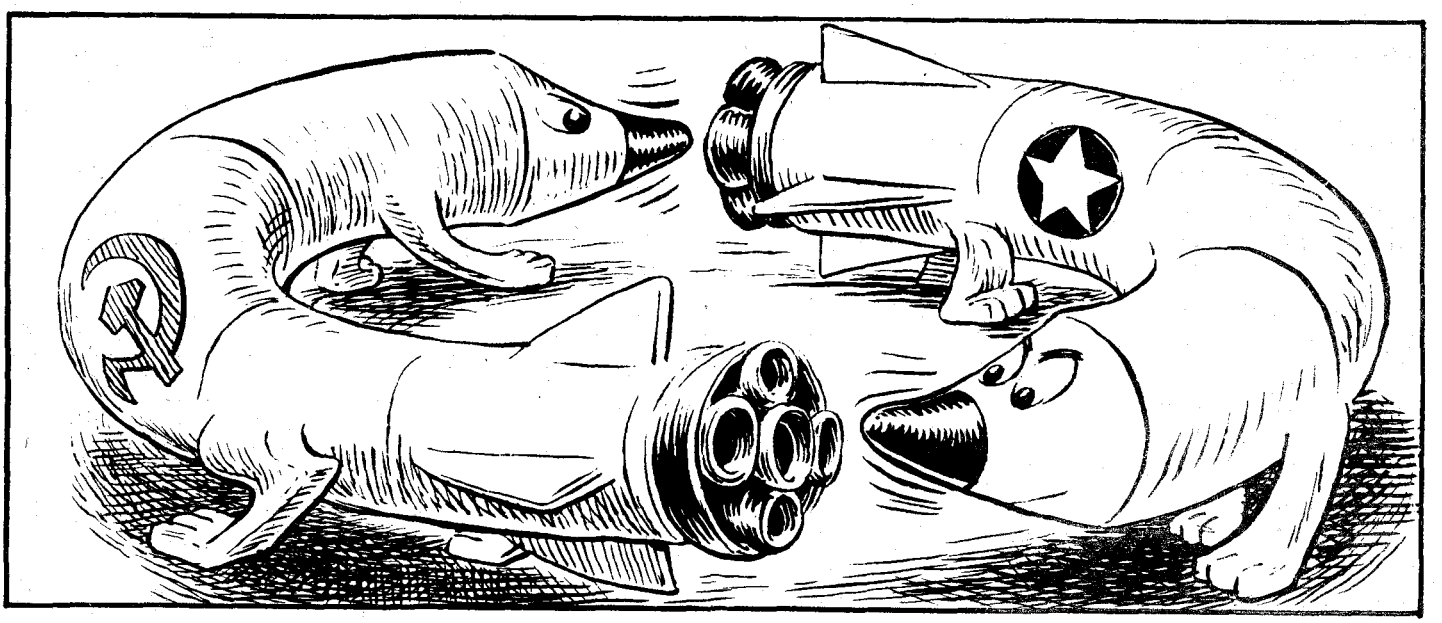
The Isaacs' article echoes the Rabinowitz line but adds more detail.* Their key charge is that pacifism has become an instrument of revolutionary socialism; pacifist groups, they allege, "are centers of radicalism" and "in practice they condone violence" for "liberation movements." They even dredge up George Orwell's forty-year-old charge about "the attraction some leading pacifists felt toward Hitler." The supporting proof for this statement is so wispy as to be invisible.

*Rael Jean Isaac is no stranger to aggressive polemics. Her highly slanted article on the Institute for Policy Studies in the June 1980 *Midstream* was so prized by the New Right that it was widely reprinted and was inserted in the *Congressional Record* by none other than Representative McDonald. She originally gained a reputation as a smear queen for her wild accusations against the liberal peace group Breira, charging, quite falsely, that it was dominated by P.L.O. agents who had duped innocent peace-loving Jews.

As proof of the pacifists' commitment to violence, the Isaacs point to the favorable attitude of the A.F.S.C., the W.I.L.P.F. and the F.O.R. toward the P.L.O., "the world's chief terror organization." "The identification of pacifist organizations with the P.L.O. is a particularly striking illustration of the breakdown of pacifist principles," they write, citing as evidence, for example, the fact that the A.F.S.C. once ran a Community Information and Legal Aid Center in East Jerusalem. But, they go on, "almost any Third World 'liberation movement,' provided it attacks the West, can count at the very least on full moral support from the U.S. pacifist organizations"; for that they offer no evidence at all.

The A.F.S.C. comes in for special treatment from the Isaacs (as it does from Rabinowitz), being accused of a pro-Soviet bias despite its clear record of having often and openly criticized the Soviet Union for its deployment of nuclear weaponry. In particular, the authors attack the A.F.S.C.'s disarmament director, Terry Provance, claiming he is a "sponsor" of the U.S. Peace Council, the Kremlin's arm in America, and, worse, "is one of 40 official U.S. members of the World Peace Council," elected "at the W.P.C.'s 1977 meeting in Warsaw." These charges, which probably originated with the artful John Rees, are falsehoods. The truth—which the authors could have readily discovered—is that the W.P.C. in 1977 listed Provance as a member without his permission, an error which was remedied after he wrote two letters of protest. Nor was he a U.S. Peace Council sponsor: he attended a founding meeting in Philadelphia and supported the convening of the organizing conference, but explained then that his presence—for all of two hours—should not be construed as either membership or an endorsement.

For the Isaacs, the policies of the domestic freeze movement prove that it is unable to resist Soviet manipulation and reflect the success of Communist infiltration. The dangers of this Communist-inspired movement, they say, are intensified by its growing influence in churches of all denominations, as well as among professional groups like



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Physicians for Social Responsibility and environmental groups like the Sierra Club. "Fear of nuclear war," they write, "has in the past been tempered by other fears and by confidence in public authorities. . . . Whatever moral reservations were held regarding nuclear bombs, the right and even necessity of their being a component of the U.S. arsenal was not generally challenged." What has gone wrong?

It is really simple: "What is new is distrust of the U.S. government by its citizens." And, they add: "Long nurtured by the extreme Left, this attitude has spilled over to segments of the media, to the universities, to the leadership of mainline churches." This view of America as a "global oppressor" makes the climate ripe "for Soviet propaganda offensives conducted chiefly through the World Peace Council," which has "been able to establish ties with elements of the adversary culture." Their conclusion is highly ironic. The nuclear freeze movement began and prospered because it gave voice not to an adversary culture but to traditional American values.

The Isaacs stress the alleged subversive role in the freeze movement of the coalition group Mobilization for Survival. The M.F.S., they say, "can serve as a model of how Communist and peace organizations have become intertwined." The proof? Simple. The U.S. Communist Party and "three of its fronts" are sheltered by its umbrella; W.P.C. representatives have participated in its demonstrations; and some individuals identified as Communists by the House Internal Security Committee were active in its formation.

One reason for the attention paid to the M.F.S. is that it laid the groundwork for the June 12 demonstration in New York City and was an important part of the rally coalition. Another reason is that piling blame on the M.F.S. helps the Far Right solve a desperate dilemma. To assign such a small and isolated group as the U.S. Peace Council the role of sole go-between in the Soviet master and American dupe scenario is to make a tiny tail wag an enormous dog. In order to make the Soviet transmission belt more plausible, the M.F.S. was tapped as the chief agent of the W.P.C.

But because the M.F.S. is a nationwide coalition of 140 religious, peace, women's and civic organizations, it was a little hard to make the charge of foreign control seem very convincing. The Far Right was up to the task. First, John Rees, in the February 1981 edition of *Western Goals*, a publication of Representative McDonald's Western Goals Foundation, presented a lengthy article, replete with weird data, charging that the M.F.S. was formed for the express purpose of bringing domestic antinuclear forces into a Soviet-controlled network. Second, in testimony to the Denton subcommittee two months later, Arnaud de Borchgrave charged there was "irrefutable proof" that the Soviet Union was playing "a covert role in promoting the antinuclear lobby." De Borchgrave, author of the spook novel *The Spike* and a professional Red-hunter, gave as proof the fact that the U.S. Peace Council and the Communist Party were affiliated with the M.F.S. This is the material the Isaacs subsequently polished up for their smear and which has since become the stock in trade of anti-freeze propaganda.

Disinformation at "Reader's Digest"

However skillful—or bizarre—the polemics of *The Journal* and *The American Spectator*, the master of the ingenious smear is *Reader's Digest*. For the last year it has been raising the specter of the Soviet nuclear menace. In June it ran an article on how radicals influence antiwar groups, which—though generously conceding that the "small minority of communists in the peace movement do not control it"—made the point that the movement's success would reduce the United States "to an isolated second-rate power." In August it published "The Russian Knife at America's Throat," an overheated warning of a massive Cuban buildup "turning this client state of the Soviets into a serious threat to U.S. security." (And this from a journal which, it will be recalled, was hailed by Susan Sontag in February of this year as a more reliable source "about the realities of Communism" than *The Nation* or *New Statesman*.)

But the *Digest*'s biggest gun to date was fired in October, in a book segment, "The KGB's Magical War for 'Peace.' " It was written by John Barron, a senior editor of the *Digest* and the author of an earlier book on the K.G.B., *KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Secret Agents*—a work that is widely understood to have been based on material fed to Barron by former C.I.A. superspook James J. Angleton.

In an opening blurb we are warned that the "patriotic, sensible people who make up the peace movement have been penetrated, manipulated and distorted to an amazing degree by people who have but one aim—to promote Communist tyranny by weakening the United States." Barron, it assures us, documents the "secrecy, forgery, terrorism and fear" used to implement this plot. Barron does nothing of the kind. The greater portion of his article deals with alleged K.G.B. capers in Europe; when he talks about the United States, he gives us warmed-over Rees, only now all the Soviet actors are "KGB agents."

For example, he describes a conference in March 1981 at Georgetown University to plan freeze organizing strategy. The conference was reportedly attended by 275 to 300 delegates from thirty-three states and Britain, and two invited guests from the Soviet Union. One, Barron says, was a specialist in hanky-panky ("Active Measures"), the other a K.G.B. agent with a cover of Soviet Embassy counselor. "Thus, little more than two miles from the White House, the K.G.B. helped organize and inaugurate the American 'nuclear freeze' campaign. While many civic and church groups of unassailable repute were to join in advocating the 'freeze,' in terms of the strategy and organization of the drive, this little-noted conference at Georgetown was a seminal meeting." Faulty logic aside, nowhere do we find a syllable of proof for these claims—nor an answer to the puzzle of why the Russians would endanger their credibility in peace circles by deploying two spies who could be exposed by the likes of John Barron.

But that is only half the story. According to Barron, "U.S. counterintelligence identified more than 20 Soviet agents endeavoring to influence elements of the peace movement, particularly leaders in religion, labor and science. . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Soviets supplemented the labors of their New York and Washington residencies by sending people from the Center"—that's K.G.B. headquarters in Moscow—"into the United States on temporary assignment." Again Barron fails to provide any sources for this startling information (C.I.A.? F.B.I.? N.S.A.?), surely something we would expect from a reputable journalist writing in a magazine of huge circulation.

The M.F.S. predictably comes in for attack again, though Barron has nothing to add to the standard smears and distortions except to describe Terry Provance as a W.P.C. "activist" and an "energetic leader." The best Barron can do is tell of an M.F.S. conference last December in Milwaukee where one organizer said that a coalition "makes it easier to call out more people to demonstrate" and where "in workshops, allies of the revolutionary Weather Underground lobbied for terrorism in general." This supposedly "climactic strategy session" came up with the sinister idea of forming "task forces to write letters to newspapers and importune elected officials in behalf of the nuclear freeze and against major American weapons systems."

Barron also takes a swipe at the sponsors of the freeze resolutions in Congress. After all, they knew the resolutions would not be binding, yet they went ahead and thus "significantly augment[ed] the Soviet campaign to prevent the United States from producing the weapons that would ensure a balance of strategic power." This strange, purely political, jab suggests Barron may have friends in the White House as well as in the C.I.A.

The question of Barron's provenance is not academic. Those familiar with intelligence operations in Europe have reported that Western intelligence agencies, desperate to check further defections to the peace cause from such pillars as the churches and the Social Democratic parties, have mounted a full-scale disinformation campaign there. For example, Coalition for Peace Through Security, a British group linked to the deceptively named Committee to Prevent Nuclear War (it is actually a right-wing group in Washington, D.C.), has played a key role in various "dirty tricks" attacks on the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. And a skillfully forged letter on the stationery of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, presumably the work of an intelligence agency, was sent to at least thirty European newspapers. Expressing concern over "the alarming rise of pacifism in Western Europe," the forgery went on to deplore the young people "who turn a blind eye to the Soviet nuclear buildup in Europe [and] blame the United States for the arms race and the danger of war."

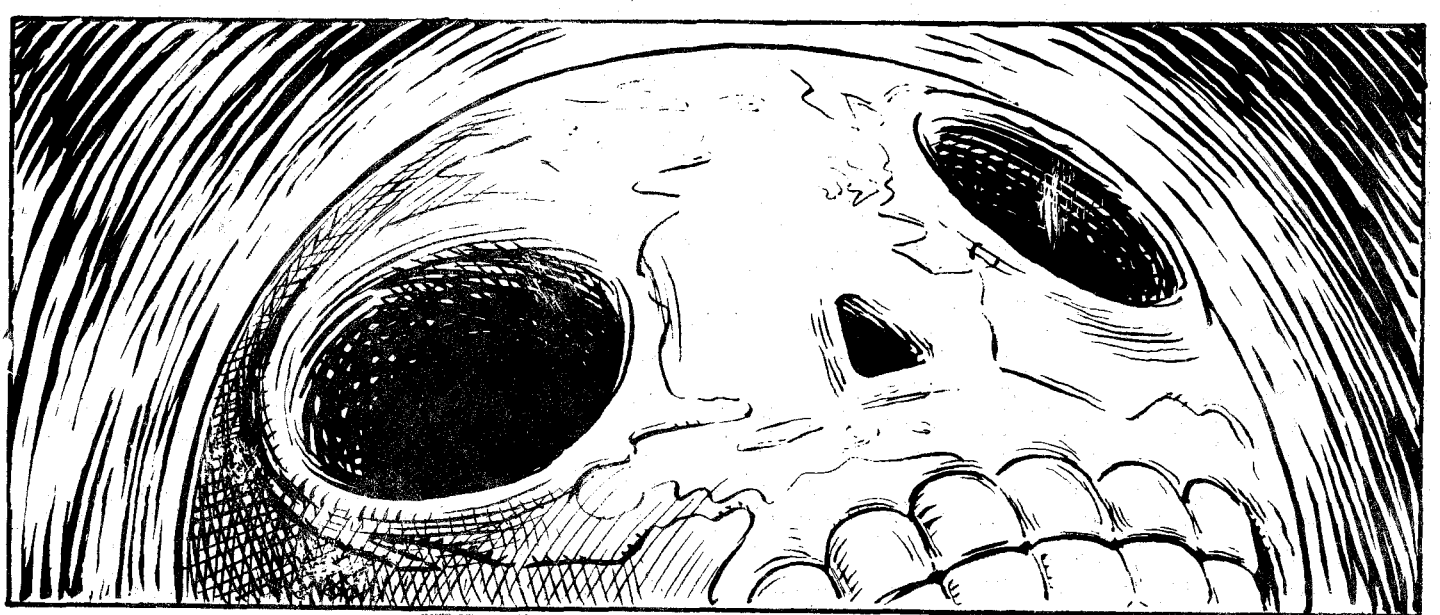
Given Barron's past performances, one may wonder whether he is not part of a disinformation campaign in this country. After all, the C.I.A. did admit in June—in a statement filed in connection with the settlement of a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit—that it had been using journalists not only to gather information but also to promote and disseminate C.I.A.-inspired or -produced stories in support of U.S. foreign policy.

More Salvos on the Right

Several other right-wing publications have fired salvos of their own in the anti-freeze campaign, again skillfully mixing (and hyping) the fear of Russia's might and Russia's subversion.

The citadel of neoconservatism, *Commentary*, offered no fewer than seven articles from January to August on arms-related themes. Two of them ("Why We Need More 'Waste, Fraud and Mismanagement in the Pentagon' " and "How to Think About Nuclear War") are by Edward N. Luttwak, the supreme neoconservative authority on military and defense matters, a senior fellow at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and a professional defense consultant. Luttwak lives in a world in which nuclear weaponry and warfare are nothing special. He decries the "great outpouring of horrific imagery of Hiroshima and its victims, of mushroom clouds and radiation burns," and scolds the Reagan Administration for "appeasing the protesters, the church men and the media."

My favorite in the *Commentary* series is Edward Jay Epstein's "Disinformation: Or, Why the CIA Cannot Verify



ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an Arms-Control Agreement." Epstein's success formula may be familiar to *Nation* readers (see my article, "Conspiracies Unlimited," December 22, 1979). In his book *Legend* (published by Reader's Digest Press), Epstein, like Barron, served as a flack for superspook Angleton's claim that Lee Harvey Oswald was a K.G.B. agent equipped with a "cover story." Here an equally arcane source provides material for the thesis that the Russians can easily deceive the satellite and electronic wizardry now assumed to be able to force Soviet compliance not merely with the freeze restraints but "with any new arms-control agreement."

Commentary also provided a long article by Vladimir Bukovsky, a British-based Soviet defector. But apart from the fact that it is distorted by ferocious anti-Soviet demonology, it tells us almost nothing about the peace efforts in this country except that they are Soviet-inspired, naïve and illusionary. His heated conclusion: "Just as it did in the 1950s, the movement today probably consists of the same odd mixture of Communists, fellow-travelers, muddleheaded intellectuals, hypocrites seeking popularity, professional political speculators, frightened bourgeois, and youths eager to rebel just for the sake of rebelling. . . . But there is also not the slightest doubt that this motley crowd is manipulated by a handful of scoundrels instructed directly from Moscow."

The *National Review* joins the anti-freeze forces with a predictable sneering hauteur: the monocle is always glinting through the prose. Contributor John P. Roche warned in a column before the June 12 demonstration that "what we are witnessing is an extremely primitive but nonetheless frightening campaign against nuclear buildup." A month later he scolded the people of Vermont for failing to realize that their support of freeze resolutions will further Soviet strategic aims. Other *National Review* contributors viewed the June 12 demonstration as either a "populist" affair or an expression of middle-class guilt. A favorite put-down involved the theme of fear-ridden masses gripped by apocalypticism. (There *is* a phenomenon of apocalypticism related to nuclear war, but it doesn't grip people on the left. Rather, it affects those attracted to survivalist cults who plan to retreat to underground safety to wait for the post-Armageddon millenium.)

The *National Review*'s principal response to the rally was a nine-column jeer by New Right commentator Joseph Sobran, which ran the gamut of baiting from Reds to liberals to the media. The central target of his sarcastic discourse was what he called "the Hive"—you know, the familiar crowd, Robert Drinan, Bella Abzug, Barry Commoner, Coretta Scott King et al.—people who share not only hidden political agendas but even a special vocabulary of buzzwords like "peace" (really meaning "enfeeblement of capitalism") and "human needs" ("socialist programs"). And as for that miserable *New York Times*, while it gave the rally extensive coverage, it suppressed its subversive political character. Can you imagine?—"the *Times* evinced not the slightest discomfiture that so many people should gather under semi-totalitarian auspices."

Human Events, "the national conservative weekly," scorns the *National Review*'s felicities. An article by William A. Rusher, a favorite in New Right intellectual circles, warns that the freeze actions "play right into the hands of the Russians," who will direct the campaign as "an exercise in pacifist propaganda, useful for softening up the West." Moreover, the pacifists are really encouraging war: "The people who are agitating most energetically for an end to the threat of war are exactly the people who, by encouraging the Soviet leaders to think they could win it, make war more likely." Then Rusher adds, in a rather chilling coda: "In this as in other respects, our era is determining whether democracy is a practical technique for survival in the world that dreamers never made."

A subsequent issue of *Human Events* berates the media for concealing the involvement of radical or "Marxist-oriented" groups in the freeze campaign. The subversive connections of the Mobilization for Survival, it charges, are blithely ignored by reporters who should know better, while the coverage of de Borchgrave's Senate testimony moaned about his McCarthyism but gave him no credit for his accuracy.

In April, *Human Events* exploded its big blast, "How Far Left Is Manipulating U.S. Nuclear 'Freeze' Movement," a report based on "an internal document of the anti-nuclear forces obtained by *Human Events*," which is nothing more than the Zill memorandum. The piece is a Rees rehash. We look in vain for the promised disclosure of "the inner workings of the anti-nuclear movement and how it is manipulating the media" and find instead a diatribe against Randall Forsberg, said to be the "intellectual author" of the freeze campaign. Forsberg, it seems, "is well connected with" peace organizations, including the "extreme-left" Institute for Policy Studies and the M.F.S., "one of the most radical anti-nuclear groups on the scene." And she was sinister enough to have enlisted Senators Kennedy and Hatfield into her ranks: "the Kennedy-Hatfield forces contact[ed] Ms. Forsberg's Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies before they went ahead."

Action in the Trenches

One should not think, with all this blather in the right-wing media, that there is no Red-baiting going on in the right-wing trenches. As early as May of this year the Heritage Foundation, the conservative think tank in Washington, disseminated a "Backgrounder" on "Moscow and the Peace Offensive" in which it called for a massive nationwide anti-Soviet campaign to check the growth of the peace movement. It urged an all-out effort and the expenditure of many millions of dollars to mobilize "a corps of speakers to travel to the towns, cities and campuses across the United States" to blunt the freeze drive.

The Heritage report also called on NATO and "its affiliated public support organizations" to mount a similar campaign in Europe to disseminate "information concerning the links . . . between known Communist front groups and the 'independent' peace groups." That this suggestion reached the right places is indicated by the fact that this fall NATO actually flew American opinion makers on free junkets to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe to be briefed on such subjects as the hidden backers of the European disarmament movement. Among those accepting the free trips were editors from *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Harper's*, *The New Republic*, *Washington Quarterly* and *International Security*.

A group called the Washington Legal Foundation has also offered a series of suggestions on how to "defrost the freezeniks." One was to discredit freeze supporters by prompting reporters to quiz them on their stands on "controversial" issues such as normalizing relations with Cuba, "one world government," aid to El Salvador and free enterprise. This was followed by a more open smear suggestion: "Expose them as a left group. (What about being hit with the charge of McCarthyism?) What do you have to lose. . . . And state your case strongly, as if you knew what you were talking about."

One suggestion for combating the freeze, presented by an "Anti-Freeze Command Post" in Sharon, Connecticut, is the formation of ad hoc committees. These have multiplied over the past several months under a variety of titles—from Citizens for a Free and Independent America, in Willimantic, Connecticut, to the Alliance to Halt the Advance of Marxism in the Americas, in Grant's Pass, Oregon. Not as numerous as the pro-freeze groups (nor as effective in the political marketplace), their primary activities include placing newspaper advertisements, writing letters to the editor and circulating petitions, particularly in connection with balloting.

These groups Red-bait wildly, in some places with the support of local editors and columnists. Their sources include the Rees *oeuvre*, handouts from Young Americans for Freedom, posters from the College Republican National Committee (for example: "THE SOVIET UNION NEEDS YOU! SUPPORT A U.S. 'NUCLEAR FREEZE' " against a photograph of soldiers parading in front of the Kremlin) and reports from various foundations and fronts, most notably the deceptive Committee to Prevent Nuclear War. The ad hoc group in Grant's Pass charged in a newspaper ad that thirteen freeze sponsors—from SANE and the A.F.S.C. to Friends of the Earth and Physicians for Social Responsibility—"HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS." The source for this startling intelligence? A newsletter distributed by something called the Young Americans Foundation, which also warns about "the Marxists who are planning subversive demonstrations aimed at causing massive unrest on our college campuses." The Willimantic group uses local papers to disseminate its smears about "The Russian Assault on American Institutions" and similar specters.

Again and again in these local efforts we see the same allegations and attenuated connections that are found in the right-wing magazines. Most of the stuff is warmed-over Rees or Barron, and some of it pops up in virtually every flyer or letter—the lies about Terry Provance, for example, which are so juicy that no one on the right seems able to resist them (or check them). Whatever you can say about those in the trenches, originality is not one of their strong points.

Spirits From the Deep

One can sense the despair in right-wing circles over the paucity of useful smear material. The same sources are cited repeatedly, the same meager connections made much of, and in the end the evidence is so sparse that calumny must suffice. Perhaps it was for this reason that the rightists tried to seize on another issue this summer: the alleged dispersal of Federal and tax-exempt foundation funds to help anti-nuclear groups in their nefarious work. The charge was taken up by M. Stanton Evans and other conservative commentators. "Tax dollars have been funneled," Evans wrote, to a variety of "New Left" groups, including such "proponents of disarmament" as the A.F.S.C., SANE, the National Council of Churches and the Union of Concerned Scientists. This charge soon fizzled, too. Though some of the groups had received Federal grants for specific projects, none of the money was used to support freeze or other political activities. The A.F.S.C., for example, showed that the $1.4 million it got from Federal sources between 1978 and 1981 was passed directly (without anything taken out even for overhead) to such projects as a housing rehabilitation program for unemployed youths in New York City and the purchase of seed rice to be distributed in Cambodia. Not the stuff from which to spin much of a conspiracy theory.

Evans is a perfect exemplar of the Far Right's dilemma, as witness another column this summer in which he treated his readers to a number of "disclosures," borrowed from the Isaacs' article, on the subversive nature of the M.F.S. and how its June demonstration was manipulated by the Kremlin. Imagine it, Evans shuddered in print, "the supposed friends of 'peace' . . . marching . . . with representatives of the most brutal despotism . . . in history." Then, echoing a deepening discontent in New Right circles, he grumbled, "The American people have a right to know the degree to which the Communists are trying to manipulate opinion and events in the United States. Our fearless journalists, for some peculiar reason, refuse to tell them."

The "peculiar reason" is not all that peculiar: the efforts to reverse the pro-freeze tide have been fueled not by convincing evidence but by crude witch-hunting appeals. The Far Right has called its spirits from the vasty deep—but they have not come. □

BUT WILL THEY COME?

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement

_____ 1 copy $3 _____ 50 copies $30

_____ 10 copies $8 _____ 100 copies $50

_____ 1,000 copies $300

This special issue of *The Nation* may be obtained at special rates for classrooms, conventions, clubhouses or congregations. Please fill in the coupon below.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW I GOT THE N.S.A. FILES. . .

How Reagan Tried To Get Them Back

JAMES BAMFORD

On September 22, 1981, the Federal government did something it had never done before. The Justice Department, for the first time in its history, issued an order forbidding an author from publishing previously released official documents in his possession and demanding their return. The documents, said the department, had been "reclassified."

Three years earlier I had begun work on *The Puzzle Palace*, the first book-length study of the National Security Agency. As part of my research I had submitted a Freedom of Information Act request to the Justice Department for documents relating to its highly secret investigation into the illegal use of electronic surveillance by the N.S.A. and the Central Intelligence Agency. The investigation had its roots in a 1974 article by Seymour Hersh in *The New York Times* that revealed details about a massive domestic intelligence operation, code-named Operation Chaos, run by the C.I.A. In response to the article, President Ford in January 1975 named Vice President Rockefeller to head a commission to look into C.I.A. activities in the United States.

The Rockefeller Commission's final report, issued on June 6, 1975, noted that the intelligence community had engaged in a number of questionable electronic surveillance activities. As a result of the report, Attorney General Edward H. Levi established a secret internal task force to determine the full extent of governmental electronic surveillance in the country.

Over the next year, the task force probed more deeply into the problems of domestic eavesdropping than any part of the executive branch had ever done before, and on June 30, 1976, it issued its final report. Classified "TOP SECRET UMBRA/HANDLE VIA COMINT CHANNELS ONLY," the 175-page document detailed twenty-three categories of questionable eavesdropping operations. Although some activities were immune from prosecution because of the statute of limitations, others were not. "This electronic surveillance activity," said the report about one N.S.A. program, Operation Minaret, "presents prima facie questions of criminality and is well within the limitations period."

Nevertheless, because there appeared little likelihood that convictions could be obtained on the basis of the evidence, and because of the possibility that the defense would resort to "graymail," the report recommended that the inquiry be terminated for "lack of prosecutive potential."

James Bamford holds a Juris Doctor degree and is the author of the recently published The Puzzle Palace: A Report on NSA, America's Most Secret Agency *(Houghton Mifflin).*

The information was considered so sensitive that only two copies of the task force's report were produced. One of these was given to George W. Calhoun, chief of the Justice Department's special litigation unit. His job was to examine the legal issues and determine whether or not to prosecute. In his "Prosecutive Summary," issued on March 4, 1977, he recommended to Robert L. Keuch, Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the criminal division, that the investigation be terminated.

A year and a half later I submitted my F.O.I.A. request. When it arrived at the Justice Department, it was sent to Keuch, who determined that it would apply to the final report of the task force as well as to Calhoun's "Prosecutive Summary." Because of the sensitivity of the documents, Keuch assigned Calhoun to review the materials already in the public domain and to base his declassification decision on that survey. He also decided not to submit the documents to the N.S.A. or the C.I.A. because the agencies were the principal subjects of the investigation and he felt that allowing them to review the reports would subvert the criminal justice system.

After ten months, on July 5, 1979, Keuch released the requested documents to me, with some portions deleted.

Several months later the N.S.A. became aware of Keuch's actions and requested that the Justice Department send it copies of the same documents. After a review, N.S.A. Director Adm. Bobby R. Inman wrote to Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, informing him that the documents contained still-top-secret information and that they should never have been released without first being sent to the N.S.A. Civiletti, believing that the documents had been properly declassified or else realizing that the executive order on classification forbade reclassifying documents released under the F.O.I.A., ignored Inman's protest.

On March 23, 1981, while working on the chapter of my book dealing with the close relationship between the N.S.A. and its supersecret British partner, Government Communications Headquarters in Cheltenham, I sent a letter to George M. (Bill) Gapp, the British senior liaison officer at the N.S.A. In the letter I noted that documents released to me by the government implicated his organization in Operation Minaret, the illegal N.S.A. program directed against American citizens. I asked whether he knew of his organization's involvement in the operation and whether it was currently engaged in any similar activities in the United States. Three weeks later a letter was hand-delivered to my Washington office by the British Embassy, informing me that "it is not the policy of Her Majesty's Government to answer enquiries of this nature."

Apparently notified of my letter by Gapp, N.S.A. Director Lieut. Gen. Lincoln D. Faurer, Inman's replacement, sent a letter to Attorney General William French Smith, requesting another copy of the two Justice Department documents. Smith sent copies to both the N.S.A. and the C.I.A. The two intelligence agencies then identified for the Justice Department a total of 161 lines and another seventy-seven words on thirty-four pages covering fourteen cate-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gories of information that should be reclassified "TOP SECRET UMBRA."

On July 8, 1981, just over two years after the documents had been released to me, I received a telephone call from Gerald A. Schroeder, a senior attorney with the Justice Department's secretive Office of Intelligence Policy and Review. He asked whether we could discuss a matter concerning the two documents released to me in 1979. I agreed, and on July 23, we met in the conference room of the Center for National Security Studies in Washington. Also present was my attorney, Mark H. Lynch, a senior staff attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union and one of Washington's leading authorities on national security law.

During the hour-and-a-half meeting, Schroeder said that the two documents had been released "by mistake," that the N.S.A. and the C.I.A. had determined they contained still-classified information and that the Justice Department would like me to return them for further deletions.

I informed Schroeder that I had had the material for two years, that it was already incorporated into my manuscript, that the Carter Administration had believed the information should be declassified and that in any case Executive Order 12065 stated that "classification may not be restored to documents already declassified and released to the public" under the F.O.I.A. In addition, I said that because the information related to illegal activities on the part of the N.S.A. and the C.I.A., I felt it was important for the American public to be informed. Under the circumstances, I told him, I would consider returning the material only if the N.S.A. released to me other agreed-on information relating to the various illegal operations or allowed me to interview a knowledgeable official on the subject. Schroeder said he would have to check my proposal with N.S.A. and C.I.A. officials and would let me know.

The proposal was not unprecedented. About a year and a half earlier I had negotiated a similar agreement with N.S.A. general counsel Daniel C. Schwartz. Although under Public Law 86-36 the N.S.A. is virtually excluded from the Freedom of Information Act, I had discovered a loophole in the law that enabled me to obtain more than 6,000 pages of internal N.S.A. newsletters. Of concern to the agency, however, was the fact that scattered through these newsletters were the names and faces of a large percentage of its work force. Appreciating the N.S.A.'s problem, and having no real need for the name of every employee, I agreed not to contest the deletion of the names and photographs, providing Schwartz prepared for me a document detailing the N.S.A.'s entire organizational structure, including the names, titles and internal codes of the senior staff between 1975 and 1980. The proposal was agreed to and in February 1980 I was handed a document that listed more than forty officials.

Following approval—from Director of Central Intelligence William J. Casey, C.I.A. Deputy Director Bobby Inman and N.S.A. Director Faurer—Schroeder informed me that he could arrange a meeting to discuss my proposal. We agreed to meet on August 14 in the editorial conference room of my publisher, Houghton Mifflin, in Boston.

BILL OF RIGHTS DINNER
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1982
SHERATON CENTRE HOTEL
52nd STREET, EAST OF 7th AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

TOM PAINE AWARD
to ED ASNER
by CORLISS LAMONT

Speaker SYDNEY SCHANBERG

Host RUTH MESSINGER

COCKTAILS 6:00–7:00 PM ROYAL BALLROOM
DINNER 7:00 PM IMPERIAL BALLROOM
COUVERT $50.00 PER PERSON

Space is limited.
For reservations contact
National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 (212) 673-2040.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Schroeder was accompanied by general counsel Schwartz and Eugene F. Yeates, the N.S.A.'s Director of Policy. Shortly after the meeting began Schroeder, apparently under pressure from the N.S.A., sought to expand the scope of the meeting by bringing up the question of who else had seen or had copied the documents. This greatly complicated matters. Because the original purpose of the meeting was simply to discuss a compromise proposal, my attorney, as Schroeder knew, had decided not to attend. I asked Schroeder to telephone Lynch from the conference room and explain that he wanted to broaden the agenda.

At one point during their telephone conversation, Schroeder brought up the possibility of using the espionage statute to force the return of the documents. Upon hearing this, Lynch asked to speak with me privately. Once the three officials had left the room, Lynch expressed worry over the tone of the meeting and the fact that I was alone and unrepresented. He advised me to put down the receiver, call Schroeder to the phone, then turn toward the door and keep walking. I agreed, and still have no idea when or how the three officials found their way out of Houghton Mifflin.

Despite the walkout, Schroeder was still interested in negotiating a settlement, but it now appeared that a reasonable solution would be impossible. There was some information, such as the N.S.A.-British link, that I would never compromise on, and I felt certain that the N.S.A. would also view the same information as non-negotiable. I therefore informed Schroeder that I was going to use the documents fully in my book and that all further discussions would be pointless.

On September 24, 1981, I received a registered letter stating: "You are currently in possession of classified information that requires protection against unauthorized disclosure. . . . Under the circumstances, I have no choice but to demand that you return the two documents. . . . Of course, you will have a continuing obligation not to publish or communicate the information."

As if to underscore the point, the Justice Department sent my attorney a letter on November 27 stating that "there should be no misunderstanding of the Government's position that Mr. Bamford holds information that is currently and properly classified" and that failure to return the documents could force the department to resort to an unnamed "post-publication judicial remedy."

Despite the threats, I refused to alter my manuscript or return the documents. From the very start of my research I was aware of the potential for serious problems over my choice of topic. There was probably no cow more sacred within the Federal government than the N.S.A., and no subject more sensitive than signals intelligence.

In 1931 Herbert O. Yardley wrote his classic book, *The American Black Chamber*, which set off such a national security storm that his widow, Edna, waited half a century before granting permission for a paperback edition—and then only after requesting and receiving permission from the N.S.A. In 1932 Yardley turned out another manuscript about the Black Chamber, this one ghost-written by Marie Stuart Klooz, a young freelance. Titled *Japanese Diplomatic Secrets, 1921-1922*, it became the first and only manuscript in U.S. history to be seized and impounded by the Federal government for national security reasons. It was not until 1979 that it was, at my request, fully declassified.

Finally there was David Kahn, author of *The Codebreakers*, the monumental study of the history of cryptology which included a chapter on the N.S.A. The agency considered everything from physical surveillance to a black-bag job at Kahn's Long Island home to obtain his manuscript. "Disparaging" reviews were drafted and his name was placed on the N.S.A. "watch list," thus subjecting his communications to the N.S.A.'s sophisticated eavesdropping techniques. The agency eventually convinced Kahn's publisher, Macmillan, to secretly give it a copy of the manuscript for review. After first demanding the elimination of the entire chapter on the N.S.A., the agency settled for a single page. A copy of that page was obtained from the papers of a former senior N.S.A. official, and is included in my book.

In light of the foregoing, I was hardly surprised by the letter from the Justice Department. What was surprising, however, was the theory of reclassification. Seldom has the involvement of politics in secrecy been illuminated more clearly. Under the Carter Administration, the Justice Department decided to release the two documents. There was no "mistake." Even Gerald Schroeder has acknowledged that Keuch had for many years been the most experienced official in intelligence and national security matters at the Justice Department; Calhoun had spent ten months studying what could properly be released from the two documents. Both concurred on the declassification. And Civiletti personally went over the summary—and, most likely, the task force report—yet as Attorney General he chose to ignore the N.S.A.'s call for secrecy. That they could have let slip any part of these documents "by mistake" seems utterly inconceivable.

It is one thing for an Administration to adopt a stricter standard of secrecy than its predecessor's. It is entirely another thing to try to enforce that standard retroactively on people who had obtained declassified materials under preceding Administrations. Yet that is precisely what the Reagan Administration attempted to do in my case. The problem was Executive Order 12065, which prohibited such actions. To overcome this, President Reagan on April 2 issued a new executive order on secrecy which permits the President or an agency head to "reclassify information previously declassified and disclosed if it is determined in writing that (1) the information requires protection in the interest of national security, and (2) the information may reasonably be recovered." When questioned by the press as to the meaning of the term "reasonably," the Administration refused to rule out the use of surreptitious entry. The new executive order took effect on August 1.

About 350 years ago, Cardinal de Richelieu, chief minister to King Louis XIII, declared, "Secrecy is the first essential in affairs of the State." With his new executive order on secrecy, President Reagan has said the same thing. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Happy Election Day!

RICHARD LINGEMAN

LONELY WALK: The Life of Senator Mark Hatfield. *By Robert Eels and Bartell Nyberg. Multnomah Press. 201 pp. $8.95.*

SPEAKING UP. *By Millicent Fenwick. Harper & Row. 187 pp. $12.95.*

The campaign biography has sadly degenerated as a literary form since its nineteenth-century heyday, when readers could count on either a florid puff piece that portrayed the candidate as a log-cabin-born hero-saint or a lurid hatchet job that turned him into a ravening brute indistinguishable from the drunken husband in a temperance tract. In those days, political good and evil had the stark clarity of a stage melodrama, and a biographer could play freely with the facts of his subject's life. The uplifting works that resulted were closer to literary romances than biographies, and it is not surprising that novelists of stature readily lent their talents to the cause (for example, Nathaniel Hawthorne on college chum Franklin Pierce and William Dean Howells on Abraham Lincoln and cousin Rutherford B. Hayes).

In recent years, the genre's Victorian purity has been adulterated by psychobiographies and quasi-journalistic studies. Even the officially pro-candidate books strive for the appearance of objectivity. Often written by home-state reporters or political scientists, these works avoid overt adulation by maintaining the pretense of being judiciously critical—although the candidate always emerges as a grade-A public servant in the end.

Perhaps the greatest threat to the survival of the campaign biography has come from television. Why bother to commission a friendly third-party biography or a ghost-written autobiography when a thirty-second spot showing the candidate's family and dog will almost instantaneously convey to millions the message that he or she is a community pillar? If the campaign biography is indeed an endangered species, American politics will be the poorer for it. Read skeptically, they can provoke thought and provide some mordant comedy; also, they have the virtue of setting down the candidate's record—or a reasonable facsimile of it—in print.

In this electoral off-year, the campaign-quickie crop is too lean to warrant any predictions about the future of the genre. Even so, the two books at hand are decidedly à la mode. Robert Eels and Bartell Nyberg's book on Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon is actually a reissue, under a different imprint, of a 1979 study. The authors, both of whom have written on the role of religion in politics, focus on their subject's reputation as a religious politician. Hatfield's faith, they point out in their analysis of his career (which they reverentially detail to the point of tedium), is a far cry from that of the Moral Majority types now infesting Washington. He is a "radical Anabaptist" who is opposed to the involvement of institutional religion in politics and who is distrustful of the kind of piety and patriotism that has its fullest flowering at Washington prayer breakfasts (in which he nonetheless participates). His pilgrimage has landed him in the liberal Republican camp and made him an early opponent of the Vietnam War.

Indeed, Hatfield's stature as an attractive young progressive won him the dubious honor of having his name leaked to the press as a possible Nixon running mate in 1968. Fortunately for him, sleaze was in style that year, and Spiro Agnew was anointed as Nixon's chief disciple.

Although Hatfield endorsed Nixon as representing "the greatest hope for peace," he eventually resumed his opposition to the war. He went on to become a critic of defense spending and the nuclear arms race (as a lieutenant in the Navy during World War II he had visited Hiroshima not long after the bomb was dropped).

While I can find much to agree with in many of Hatfield's positions, and much to admire in a politician who preaches a politics of "servanthood" and who is outspoken enough to call the Senate a "brothel of egomania," I have to judge him by his works rather than his faith. Like many senators, Hatfield has several sweeping legislative proposals snoozing in the hopper—a rather woolly blueprint for "neighborhood government" and a proposal for national legislative referendums, but the one with which he is most closely identified is his antiabortion bill, now languishing in committee.

Hatfield, Eels and Nyberg report, rejects the charge that his antiabortion bill is an attempt to mobilize the powers of the state in behalf of his religious beliefs. Rather than appeal to the Bible, he appeals to secular authority—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights—and to science, which has "clearly proved that life began the moment the embryo became implanted on the wall of the uterus." It is not everyone who can start with secular humanism and end up squarely in the camp of Jesse Helms. If Hatfield believes that secular and scientific authorities should guide policy, then why not heed the Supreme Court's reading of the Constitution in *Roe v. Wade*, and honor the overwhelmingly pro-choice positions of American doctors and biological scientists?

Despite Hatfield's disavowals of a religious impulse behind his antiabortion bill, his career has been dominated by his struggle to apply a "Christ ideal" to politics. The authors' clear purpose in writing this book is to measure him for the role of activist-Christian political leader; for reasons that are sometimes obscurely theological, they conclude that he must grow some more. Their prescriptions include a call for him to become a "distinctly political leader alongside his unquestioned role as a prophetic moral leader." Alongside that, they adjure him to be "less issue-oriented and pragmatic." I'm not sure that the two ideas are not mutually contradictory, but let it pass.

Eels and Nyberg seem to be saying that Christian politicians like Hatfield are too timid about engaging in a truly *political* Christianity, and that Christians in general are politically apathetic because of a "political *system* largely shaped by the force of secularism." Hatfield opposes the notion of a bona fide Christian political party like the West German Christian Democrats (whom, paradoxically, he finds not suf-

---

Richard Lingeman is author of two works of social history, Small Town America *and* Don't You Know There's a War On? *(both Putnam's).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KURT VONNEGUT takes aim at America's heartland. And heart.

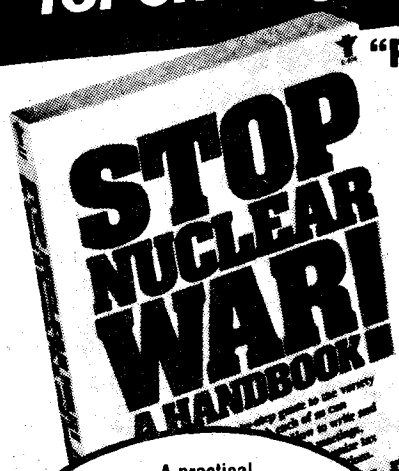
A neutron bomb has killed 100,000 people in Midland City, Ohio. Since it wasn't the start of World War III, but only a traffic accident, it stayed big news for about ten days. DEADEYE DICK, one of Vonnegut's best, will have more staying power. Chances are this novel of Rudy Waltz —playwright, pharmacist, inadvertent double-murderer, and scion of Midland City's first family—will live with you forever.

DEADEYE DICK

Photo © Jill Krementz

A BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB FEATURED ALTERNATE
AN IMMEDIATE NATIONAL BESTSELLER
$14.95 AT ALL BOOKSTORES Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence
DELL PUBLISHING CO., INC.

"The first how-to book for ending the arms race!"*



"Remarkable in its elan, seriousness, and practicality. It helps everyone to feel, and feel better."
—ROBERT JAY LIFTON, M.D.

*"I urge you to use this book as a tool to save the world for our children."
—DR. HELEN CALDICOTT

GROVE PRESS. $7.95 paperback, now at your bookstore, or use this coupon to order:

A practical, step-by-step guide to the variety of ways in which each of us can cast his vote for survival: How to write and telephone politicians; hold meetings, rallies, and demonstrations; organize tax resistance, referendums, and petitions.
By DAVID P. BARASH, Ph.D. and JUDITH EVE LIPTON, M.D.

GROVE PRESS, Att: N
196 West Houston St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014
Please send me _____ copy(ies) of *Stop Nuclear War!* I enclose my check or money order for $7.95 per copy plus $1.50 postage and handling charge.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
N.Y. and N.J. residents, add sales tax.

ficiently Christian); instead he calls upon bands of the faithful to infiltrate Republican Party organizations, inject the "virus of love" and eventually take over by the "free and nonviolent vehicles open to them." Unfortunately, his foes on the fundamentalist right appear to have a patent on that tactic. One is left with the prospect of Anabaptist radicals warring with Falwellites for the party's soul and the next Republican national convention becoming a Protestant-style Vatican II with floor debates on theology and What Jesus Would Do.

Using secular arguments to defend his antiabortion bill, Hatfield seems to have grasped instinctively—or is it pragmatically?—the fundamental truth that in a pluralistic democracy, appeals to religious authority butter no beans with the electorate. Nor should they. Christians should make their voices heard in the political coliseum like any other interest group, but it is the electorate in the stands that must deliver the thumbs up or thumbs down. A secular system permits a freer play of voices than a religious one—or so the Founding Fathers believed. Moral imperatives are preferable to naked self-interest or the lust for power as guides to political action, but they are hardly a religious monopoly. Nor do Christians agree on what is moral: some find nothing in the teachings of Christ that forbids abortion, while others quote their Bibles in support of nuclear war.

Hatfield's antinomianism (one wonders if his distrust of institutional Christianity derives, in part, from the fierce criticism his stand on the Vietnam War provoked from the fundamentalist right) has left him suspicious of organized religious political action. This would seem to rule out his becoming an effective religious political leader. At the same time, his belief that the Federal government has no role in righting social injustices makes him an ineffectual liberal. We are left with the "prophetic moral leader"—a loner practicing "human relations politics," with one foot in the Republican Party and the other in the New Jerusalem.

If Hatfield publicly finds his political roots in the Gospel, Representative Millicent Fenwick's are less apparent, and her book provides few clues. *Speaking Up* is actually a scrapbook of excerpts from her constituent newsletters, speeches and interviews. One might look for her philosophical springs

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the thesaurus of quotations from eminent thinkers which she sprinkles throughout her communications—Lincoln, Jefferson, Gandhi, Eric Hoffer, class valedictorians and so on. This approach, however, would give us Woodrow Wilson as her mentor, since he is quoted the most—three times—and always in the same words: "The business of government is justice." But citing Wilson in Fenwick's home state of New Jersey is probably required by statute.

Reading the flap copy gave me a better clue. Among her other credits, Fenwick was the author of *Vogue's Book of Etiquette* before she began her political career. It struck me that this upright, patrician lady is bent on bringing politics into conformity with a kind of moral etiquette. She has been outspoken in chastising abuses of campaign financing laws; she criticizes members of Congress who make self-serving leaks; she suggests that in economic policy, appearance is more important than theoretical rigor (is that why she supports Reaganomics?); she is for a single standard of human rights; she supports the right of any group, however repugnant its ideas, to demonstrate peaceably, while opposing violent or illegal demonstrations; she is outraged by the coarse behavior of landlords toward tenants in her district—and so on and on. In short, she wants us—and particularly her fellow members of Congress—to behave decently, with consideration for others and with due regard for appearances. I can only hope that this peppy woman—who, at the age of 72, is the Republican candidate for Senate in New Jersey—will find time to write a companion volume of political etiquette for elected officials. Since the various Congressional ethics committees and the Federal Election Commission have failed to keep our lawmakers away from fat cats and PAC-men, perhaps a Congressional Emily Post could embarrass them into rectitude. It's worth a try. □

Baudelaire Revoiced

PETER BROOKS

THE FLOWERS OF EVIL. *By Charles Baudelaire. Translated by Richard Howard. David R. Godine. 384 pp. $22.50.*

Richard Howard sets as epigraph to his translation of *Les Fleurs du mal* a quotation from Walter Benjamin: "a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life." This sentence from "The Task of the Translator"—Benjamin's preface to his own translation, into German, of part of Baudelaire's work—suggests the context and the conditions of the remarkable, decisive achievement Howard gives us in his *Flowers of Evil.* Benjamin argues that "a translation issues from the original—not so much from its life as from its afterlife," which for a great work of literature is a process of evolving interpretation, of renewal and even fulfillment, as previously unperceived meanings are revealed and the work assumes its place in the history of consciousness. It is the task of the translator to "release in his own language that pure language which is under the spell of another, to liberate the language imprisoned in a work in his recreation of that work."

What Benjamin suggests in this dense and brilliant essay is that translation at its best constitutes a reading of the original. Benjamin cuts through debates about literalness versus license to ask rather that translation be criticism, telling us something about the original, especially its ways of using language and making meaning. The translation, he writes, should "incorporate the original's mode of signification," not so much its meaning as the way it works on language to make meaning.

Benjamin's high and subtle standards provide a measure of Howard's exceptional success. The first complete translation of the whole of *Les Fleurs du mal* done by one hand, Howard's version gives us a reading of Baudelaire as he might speak in, or through, English to readers in the late twentieth century. By this I do not mean that Howard modernizes or excessively colloquializes Baudelaire. Rather, he forges idioms and forms that maintain Baudelaire's

Peter Brooks is a professor of French and comparative literature at Yale. His most recent book is The Melodramatic Imagination *(Yale University Press).*

Test Your Nuclear I.Q.

1. Wood fuels now generate as much residential energy as nuclear power plants. ☐ T ☐ F

2. Nations are no longer dumping radioactive waste in the ocean. ☐ T ☐ F

3. On average, the US currently holds a nuclear bomb test explosion every three weeks. ☐ T ☐ F

Answers: 1-T, 2-F, 3-T

Assessing your score:

0–2 right: You need to brush up on your nuclear knowledge. The Nuclear Information and Resource Service can help. *(See below.)*

3 right: You're well-informed on nuclear issues. NIRS can help keep you informed and involved.

Founded in 1978, the Nuclear Information and Resource Service is a national clearinghouse and networking center for citizens concerned about nuclear dangers. NIRS can offer you: **information,** including a publications distribution service, a bimonthly resource journal, fact sheets and reading packets; and **organizing assistance,** including referrals, activist conferences, and action alerts.

☐ I would like to join NIRS and enclose $20.

☐ Send me more free information on NIRS and nuclear issues.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Return to: NIRS, 1346 Conn. Ave. NW, Washington DC 20036

BB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Mart

MARSHALL ARISMAN POSTER

only $4.00
(includes postage).

A limited edition poster of Marshall Arisman's graphic reaction to the Reagan administration is the perfect gift for a friend, or for yourself. Arisman's drawing originally appeared on the cover of *The Nation*'s January 1981 Inauguration issue, E. P. Thompson's "Letter to America." The poster, measuring 16.5" x 24", is printed on fine coated stock.

SAVE THE NATION

If you find that you have stacks of *The Nation* that you just can't part with, here are two ways to protect your back issues. Choose either an attractive library case or a binder, both in orange, scuff-resistant Kivar and embossed with *The Nation* logo. Each holds six months—safe from dust and wear—at a bargain price.

BINDERS	LIBRARY CASE
1 for $7.50	1 for $5.95
3 for $21.75	3 for $17.00
6 for $42.00	6 for $30.00

THE NATION SINCE 1865

These T-shirts come in black with white lettering front and back. Three sizes, S-M-L, are available.

only $7.95
(includes postage)

ORDER FORM

Qty.	Item	Total
	Marshall Arisman Poster	
	Binder(s)	
	Library Case(s)	
	T-Shirt(s) ☐S ☐M ☐L	

Total Enclosed _____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. *Offers expire March 30, 1983.*

NM8240

specificity—his very difference and distance from us—while making him available, immediate, unarchaic. The accomplishment is notable, since translating Baudelaire is not merely impossible (one can say as much for any lyric poet) but also remarkably difficult, especially when one goes beyond the rendering of a few chosen poems to encompass the entire thematic and imagistic world of *Les Fleurs du mal*, its inner echoes, complementary movements and discreet architecture.

Baudelaire's sensibility and verse seem to a high degree inimitable, offering myriad pitfalls to any translator whose ear for French verse isn't perfect and whose sense for what English verse will allow by way of response isn't flawless. Standing at the divide between Romanticism and modernity, Baudelaire is a Janus-faced figure, summing up Romanticism as he ironizes it, claiming the poet's divine inspiration while twisting it into a Satanic malediction, "making it new" in a way that offered an example to all the later poets of Symbolism and Modernism, yet writing the most highly polished French verse since Racine.

Les Fleurs du mal is peopled with whores, murderers, ragpickers; it is set in the appalling and fascinating urban crowd—the source, for Baudelaire, of "fugitive beauty"; it is pervaded by the spiritual atony he called "spleen," animated by an impossible movement of escape and ascension, which always returns to the "boring pageant of immortal sin." Baudelaire uses a grim and daring terminology of the modern everyday, including the artifices of clothing, cosmetics, jewelry, within highly wrought verse of a sumptuous sonority.

The result can occasionally be an exacerbated Satanic decadence, which at its least intimate and most highly rhetorical may appear posturing. But at his best, which is most of the time, Baudelaire achieves a revolution in French poetry comparable to that worked by Wordsworth in English poetry half a century earlier. The revolutions are of course dissimilar, as different as Wordsworth's renewed pastoral landscape is from Baudelaire's antinatural cityscape, but they both make all previous poets in the language belong to the pre-modern. Both decisively redefine for their times, and for their successors even up to our time, the language and the means of poetry.

Howard understands all this, as he understands the possibilities and the limitations of translation. Abandoning the constraint of rhyme—which is of the essence in classical French verse and which Baudelaire always uses, but which comes far less easily to contemporary English verse—Howard compensates by a resourceful play of sound and a notable fidelity to the architectonics of the poems: their scaffolding, their movement and turns, their pace. Responsible for a sense of the collection as a whole, he is responsive to its frequent echoes and recalls, its cycles of returning moods and personae, its twin vectors of escape upward and fall back. Yet at the same time he succeeds in losing virtually no thematic material from any poem: stanza by stanza, almost line by line, everything the alert reader of Baudelaire needs to find is in place.

Howard has his greater and his lesser successes, of course. Such a poem as "Hymn to Beauty," which is filled with a Satanic bombast that cannot pass the twentieth century's footlights, fails, perhaps, to meet Benjamin's criteria of "translatability." Nor am I fully convinced by the culminating stanzas of "Against Her Levity" ("A celle qui est trop gaie"), where the shocking, sadistic and pathetic imaginary act of vampirish penetration and possession depends for its effect, in the original, on the absolutely controlled stateliness of the verse, which Howard's more fluid and freer style can't quite render. But the successes overwhelmingly predominate. Again and again, turning to the poems one prizes most, one finds them carried off with an accuracy of tone and theme one thought impossible: all four of the "Spleen" poems, for instance, as well as "Elevation," "A Voyage to Cythera" and "Travelers" ("Le Voyage"), the last poem in the collection and Baudelaire's acerbic summing up on the brutal stupidities of his time and his life; the liminary poem, "To the Reader," which has always resisted successful translation; "The Swan," with its complex architecture. In "Heauton Timoroumenos"—the self-tormentor—Howard beautifully catches the rising hysteria of the speaker's "greedy Irony," leading to the final impassioned impasse:

> I am the knife and the wound it deals,
> I am the slap and the cheek,
> I am the wheel and the broken limbs,
> Hangman and victim both!
>
> I am the vampire at my own veins,
> one of the great lost horde

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doomed for the rest of time,
and beyond,
"to laugh—but smile no more."

The last line, as Howard notes, echoes Poe. It is a measure of Howard's intimacy both with Baudelaire and with the Anglo-American poetic tradition that he can elsewhere make Baudelaire echo Emerson and Tennyson and Eliot, finding the appropriate transforms of Baudelaire's tortured relation to nature and to the transcendence he denies and thirsts for. Far more than in any other versions of Baudelaire that I know, we read in Howard's translations something of the effect of Baudelaire on what Benjamin called the ideal language of poetry—that is, how Baudelaire has become an indispensable fact of poetry as we now know it, how poetry can be "Baudelairean," with or without reference to the name that furnished the adjective.

And this is Howard's great triumph: he is always Baudelairean. His fluent English versions never domesticate the foreign text; he gives us Baudelaire revoiced. An irresistible quotation is at the very end of the last poem, "Travelers," Baudelaire's *envoi*:

Death, old admiral, up anchor now,
this country wearies us. Put out
to sea!
What if the waves and winds are
black as ink,
our hearts are filled with light. You
know our hearts!
Pour us your poison, let us be
comforted!
Once we have burned our brains out,
we can plunge
to Hell or Heaven—any abyss
will do—
deep in the Unknown to find
the *new*!

Howard has captured the strong rhythms that make this black ending one of the most tonic ever conceived.

But the temptation to accumulate quotation and gloss should be resisted, since the effect sought and realized is cumulative and overall: the constitution of a voice, a tonality and a world that we can in confidence designate as Baudelairean. Whether we want to talk, like Benjamin, of Baudelaire as "lyric poet in the era of high capitalism," or as the *flâneur* who finds allegories in the urban landscape, or as the dandy, the self-styled personal artifact, or as the *poète maudit*, or as the most resourceful technician French verse has ever known, Howard's text holds up, offering us the substance that we need. And this may be the highest praise to give a translation. Howard's achievement is such that we can be confident that his *Flowers of Evil* will long stand as definitive, a superb poetic guide to France's greatest poet. □

Medieval Heroines

TINA STIEFEL

THE BOOK OF THE CITY OF LADIES. *By Christine de Pizan. Translated with an introduction by Earl Jeffrey Richards. Foreword by Marina Warner. Persea Books. 281 pp. $16.95.*

Here is a strange and delightful book indeed—a defense of women that is also a sort of medieval French *Arabian Nights*. The author, an Italian who lived in the court of the early-fifteenth-century French King Charles V, was a brilliant and prolific writer whose books, widely enjoyed by her contemporaries, include lyric poetry; a political primer for kings; autobiographical sketches; essays on philosophy, the psychology of love, Joan of Arc (the only work written on Joan during her own lifetime); and several vigorous attacks on misogynist writers and antifemale prejudice. (Readers who want to learn more about this highly original writer than Marina Warner provides in her concise foreword should try Enid McLeod's *The Order of the Rose: The Life and Ideas of Christine de Pizan.*)

Like Dante's *Commedia*—which de Pizan introduced to France shortly before writing this book—*The Book of the City of Ladies* uses the literary device of an author's dream to present a vision of utopia. De Pizan's utopia is a kingdom—or, rather, a queendom—founded and inhabited by exemplary women of every sort, from Biblical Judith through Homer's Andromache to Queen Isabella of France, de Pizan's contemporary. There are courageous warriors, astute leaders and brilliant philosophers, lawyers and physicians,

Tina Stiefel is a medieval historian currently at work on a study of twelfth-century rationalism.

A weekly newsletter covering vital trends in Latin America

Latinamerica Press

- human rights
- church movements
- grassroots organizations
- economic structures
- women's involvement
- ecology
- defense of native peoples

Airmailed to subscribers 48 times a year

Yearly subscription $40.00 for 48 issues.
Write check to LATINAMERICA PRESS.
Mail c/o Subscription Office,
Apartado 5594, Lima 100, Peru.
Sample copies on request; ask about
NOTICIAS ALIADAS in Spanish.

NEWS • DOCUMENTATION • ANALYSIS

FREE CATALOGS!

Now you can receive *dozens* of new, colorful, exciting catalogs ***absolutely free!*** Just check *three* of your most favorite categories in the coupon below and send it to us along with *only* $1.00 for processing your order. ***You won't be disappointed!*** Only the finest of mail order catalogs will be sent to your home. . . . ***Act Today!***

YES, I'd like to receive *dozens* of new, colorful, exciting catalogs. I've checked my *three* favorite categories below and enclose $1.00 for processing. I understand that all catalogs will be sent to me absolutely free and I am under no obligation to purchase anything.

VA-42

☐ Cosmetics ☐ Food Coupons
☐ Jewelry ☐ Clothing
☐ Gift Ideas ☐ Home Furnishings
☐ Electronics ☐ Sewing & Knitting
☐ Toys & Games ☐ Health Products
☐ Automotive ☐ Collecting (Coins, stamps, etc.)
☐ Magic & Gags
☐ Hobbies & Crafts ☐ Other_____

Name
(please print)
Address
City State Zip

Mail to: Nationwide Catalog Network, Inc.
373 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as well as more familiar heroines—selfless mothers and daughters, generous lovers and wives.

De Pizan's declared intention is to encourage women of every class—for nobility of spirit is, she believes, to be found in all ranks of society—to train for achievement and also to persuade both sexes to think profoundly about women's abilities and the uses to which they might be put: "If it were customary to send daughters to school like sons," de Pizan writes, sounding very much like one of the nineteenth-century founders of colleges for women, "and if they were then taught the natural sciences, they would learn as thoroughly and understand the subtleties of all the arts and sciences as well as sons." Later she adds, "I see that God . . . has granted that the mind of an intelligent woman can conceive, know and retain all perceptible things."

On the still pertinent question of the relation between intellectual ability and moral insight, de Pizan contributes her own idea: she distinguishes between abstract knowledge of ethical concerns and intuitive or practical insight into human conduct, which she calls "prudence," or "natural sense." In her dream, the author asks the goddess Reason

> whether a woman's mind . . . is equally prompt and clever in those matters of moral conduct with men. . . . You speak correctly, my daughter, she replied, this prudence of which you speak is bestowed by nature upon men and women.

De Pizan, though careful to credit women with ample ability to use "natural sense" in daily life, gives to abstract knowledge the higher value, since it can be written down and thus transmitted to future generations. For that reason, she stresses that women must acquire intellectual skills. She gives us many examples of brilliant women, such as Sempronia the Roman, of whom it was said:

> although the beauty of her body and face surpassed that of practically all other women of her time, even more so did the excellence and subtlety of her mind surpass and exceed those of all others.

How refreshing to read of a moment five centuries ago when a woman's intellectual accomplishments were admired as much as her looks!

The Book of the City of Ladies belongs beside one's pillow and cat for an evening's entertainment. The stories Christine de Pizan has so enticingly set before us should be part of the furniture of our minds, both because they belong to a rich store of myth and legend, and because they are unique and piquant. *The Book of the City of Ladies* is an important historical document that cannot but enlarge our understanding of a vital issue—the moral and intellectual equality of men and women. □

THIS WORLD BEGINS ON A WHARF

shy of midnight.
Under a moon that is almost
full. Yes, shy.
Its light skims a shiver
over the bay,
the light chill

of cold hands.
From here the world purls off
in all directions:
up, into stars,
Orion as always sharp
in the chaos of sparks;

forward, into the bay,
where the sound water beats
out of its body
rushes in, where a still
thick shadow is nothing,
or is the breakwater;

and down, the world stilted
on pilings, over
pale sand, now covered by
some afterthought of the bay,
now revealed,
a screen where the moon

throws timber, doctored
blueprints, manic carpentry.
There are other bearings,
poor compass. Their names
dissolve into number, the numbers
divide like cells.

This world has just begun
and it fills them all:
breakers, dark storefronts,
panes of glass pooling
the light the length of a narrow
street, what the woman

on the wharf sees abruptly.
Her short hair caught
in a gray scarf,
her hands clumsy in gloves.
She sees so quickly, hears
so much in her skin, her blood,

that all this time her mind
is full of the last world,
the one she left when she stepped
absently up to the wharf
and found herself here.

Wendy Battin

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Chilly Scenes of Winter
Eating Raoul

Chilly Scenes of Winter, directed by Joan Micklin Silver from a novel by Ann Beattie, has had an odd and cheerful history. Released three years ago under the misleading title *Head Over Heels*, with a happy ending ill-suited to its circumstances, it died on the vine. Now it has been revived under the author's original title, and the concluding embrace has simply been cut, leaving the story in a state of suspension that sums up the work as a whole. In this version, the picture is doing very well. Perhaps the expectations raised by the present title are different. Also the two principals, John Heard and Mary Beth Hurt, have become well known over the past couple of years. In any case, the current success is deserved.

Chilly Scenes is a "small" film, a quiet examination of character rather than a striking display of events. Not many American films fit this pattern, though we have long admired European examples. Charles and Laura, a pair of youthful lovers, are warmly appealing and impossibly difficult. They are insecure within themselves and mistrustful of each other. When they meet, Laura is separated from her husband—a man on whom she could lean, but who proves to be nothing more than a prop. During the film she goes back to him and leaves again, but she never quite returns to Charles.

Charles works halfheartedly as a junior civil servant. He has a half-mad mother and an idolizing sister, both of whom bug him. He lives, squatter style, with a parasitic but sweet-tempered former schoolmate. His need for Laura is the first pressing need he has ever had. It is an obsession that both engulfs him and gives him stature. They are a bright and winning pair, hanging irresolute in an irresolute time. They wave no banners and hitch their wagons to no stars. There is nothing much to say for them except that they behave as well

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"A FRESH AND BADLY NEEDED VOICE IN INDEPENDENT LEFT JOURNALISM—IN THESE TIMES."

I.F. STONE

"Most of the news I need most, *The New York Times* doesn't see fit to print. More and more, I find it in *In These Times.*"
Daniel Ellsberg

"*In These Times* has articles and insights I find nowhere else."
Studs Terkel

"*In These Times'* spirit is inviting, not narrowly sectarian."
Gloria Steinem

For the national and international news you've been missing—if you haven't been reading In These Times, the independent socialist newsweekly, it's time you did. Fill out the coupon today.!

IN THESE TIMES

Yes, give me six months of *In These Times* (22 issues) at the special introductory rate of $12.95—that's over 50% off the regular rate!

S2T1

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ Bill me later. ☐ Payment enclosed.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Events.

TURNING THINGS AROUND:
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AND
A REVIVAL OF THE LEFT

Speakers: Barbara Ehrenreich, Cornel West, Bogdan Denitch, David Livingston, Stanley Aronowitz, Frances Fox Piven, Deborah Meier

Friday, November 19, 7:30 pm

Washington Irving High School
Irving Place, between 16th and 17th Streets
New York City

Admission $3. Music.

Sponsored by the Institute for Democratic Socialism and CUNY D.S.A. Student and Faculty Club.

The New York Institute for the Humanities cordially invites you to attend

THE JAMES LECTURES, FALL 1982 SERIES

Amartya Sen
Drummond Professor of political economy, Oxford University
on
ENTITLEMENTS AND CAPABILITIES

Monday, November 15, 8 pm

Tisch Hall, Schimmel Auditorium
40 West 4th Street
New York City

There is no admission charge.
Seating is on a first come, first seated basis.

WORKERS CULTURE
Experiences in the U.S. and Sweden

A conference sponsored by District 1199's Bread and Roses Project and the Swedish Information Service as part of Scandinavia Today, an American celebration honoring the cultural life of modern Scandinavia.

Wednesday, November 17, 9 am - 5 pm
District 1199
Martin Luther King, Jr. Labor Center
310 West 43rd Street, New York City

Schedule:

9:00 Registration

9:30 Plenary Session:
Rune Blomqvist, president, Foundation for Promotion of Literature; Goran Holmberg, president, Society of Art Promotion; Gunnar Svensson, director, Swedish Traveling Exhibitions; Bengt Goransson, president, National Theater Center; Larry Kirkman, executive director, AFL-CIO Labor Institute of Public Affairs.

11:45 Entertainment:
Howard Roberts Chorale.

1:00 Workshops:
Visual Arts: Earl Dotter, Ralph Fasanella, May Stevens, Lucy Lippard (moderator).
Film and Video: Barbara Kopple, Nora Sayre, Marc Weiss, Al Levin (moderator).

2:45 Workshops:
Literature: Ernie Brill, Alice Childress, Helen Yglesias, Barbara Garson (moderator).
Theater: Ossie Davis, Micki Grant, Marketa Kimbrell, Erika Munk (moderator).

4:45 Entertainment:
Viveca Lindfors, Mike Glick, The New Song Quintet.

Followed by a wine and cheese reception hosted by Consul General Bengt Friedman and Doris Turner, president, District 1199.

To register, send $4 check or money order payable to:
District 1199 Cultural Center, Inc.
Bread and Roses
310 West 43rd Street
New York, NY 10036

as they know how. But they were written and are performed with an authenticity that goes to your heart.

Eating Raoul (screenplay by Richard Blackburn and Paul Bartel) has been greeted as a convulsively funny movie; one enthusiastic reviewer calls it a "laffapalooza." But I don't get it.

In this confection of sex, food and murder, an impecunious couple—she a hospital nurse with a gift for cuisine, he an unemployed connoisseur of wines—long to establish a stylish country restaurant. By accident, they stumble on the lucrative device of luring men, hungry for kinky sex, to their apartment and dispatching them with the blow of a heavy skillet to the skull. The victims' wallets are then rifled and their bodies handed over to Raoul, a licensed locksmith and professional thief, for disposal as cut-rate meat to a pet-food factory. The plot is somewhat complicated by Raoul's fornication with the female ghoul, but in the end the coveted restaurant is bought. As for Raoul, his fate is foreshadowed in the title.

This subject matter, one must agree, is outrageously bizarre, not to say unseemly. It is the sort of thing that, to succeed as comedy, must be carried off with great style, the humor being generated by the participant's casual disregard of homicide, cannibalism, profanation of the dead, sexual aberration and plain common sense. But the performances by Bartel (who also directed) and Mary Woronov bring to the occasion no style at all. They are awkward and entirely unattractive; they deliver their lines (which are banal) as though from prompt cards. Their attempts to convey a spirit of blithe villainy would be unacceptable on the stage of a suburban amateur company. In this hangdog atmosphere, the intrinsic nastiness of the plot becomes depressing. □

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation.*

For information write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011 (212) 242-8400

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ASSOCIATIONS

AMERICAN-ISRAELI CIVIL LIBERTIES COALITION and its Israeli affiliate, Kol Koreh, invite inquiries about membership from persons interested in the extension of civil liberties in the State of Israel. A-ICLC, 124 West 79th Street, New York, NY 10024.

A MODERN, humanistic, rational religion whose time has come! Information: Ethical Society, Box N, 9001 Clayton Road, St. Louis, MO 63117.

BOOKS

MINIATURE BOOKS OF JAPAN. Tatsuo Go, Moritakabatake 621, Toyama City, 931, Japan.

UNSAVED DEAD—Hope for them? FREE 80-page color book, others. Standard (N), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE
By Derek Humphry (author of Jean's Way)
This unique guide to self-deliverance for the dying person available to Hemlock members. For details send SASE to
Hemlock: P.O. Box 66218, Los Angeles
CA 90066 or phone (213) 391-1871

BOOKS

JERZY KOSINSKI: LITERARY ALARMCLOCK by Dr. Byron L. Sherwin, the first comprehensive study of Kosinski's life and work. $5.95. Cabala Press, 2421 W. Pratt, Chicago, IL 60645.

CREDIT, DIVORCE, PRIVACY PROBLEMS. Our books have the solutions. Send for free catalog. Eden Press, 11623 Slater, Box 8410NG, Fountain Vly, CA 92708.

SOLIDARITY UNDER SIEGE. Interviews, photos and an underground discussion of resistance in Poland. By Andrzej Tymowski. $3.50 postpaid: D. H. Back Press, Box 714, New Haven, CT 06510.

KNOW YOUR LOCAL POLICE
by Mae Churchill

24 pages of questions for reporters, editors and citizens.

- police as protectors of public safety
- police as instruments of justice
- police as intelligence agents
- police and the public purse
- police as public servants
- police as professionals

Order from:
URBAN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
185 Pier Street,
Santa Monica, CA 90405.

$2.50/single copy, prepaid.
$1.75/10 or more, prepaid.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

BOOKS

Garry De Young has recently completed a new book entitled
THE MEANING OF CHRISTIANITY.
The book is a critique of Christianity and its defense from a humanitarian and materialistic viewpoint written by a former Atheist.
It is available for $7.95 paper or $9.95 hardback from:
GARRY DE YOUNG,
Box 14, Route 2, Hull, IA 51239.

THE BEIRUT MASSACRE: PRESS PROFILE SEPTEMBER 1982. New book of carefully selected articles on the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps of Beirut. The most substantial writings to appear during the two weeks following the massacre in over 100 newspapers and periodicals from US, Canada, England and Israel. Essential resource book for activists and all others concerned with issue. Send $5 (add $2 for first-class mail or $5 for overseas air mail).
Also available: **THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON: PRESS PROFILE: JUNE/JULY 1982.** 200 pages of the most important articles published in over 100 publications. Send $7.50 (add $2.50 for first-class mail or $7.50 for overseas air mail).
All items sent surface book rate unless additional postage included. CLAREMONT RESEARCH, 160 Claremont Avenue, New York, NY 10027.

EROTICA & CURIOSA. Fine material bought and sold. Catalogue $2. SCHEINER, 275 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, NY 11226.

BOOKS/OUT-OF-PRINT

SCARCE AND FINE BOOKS on Oriental and Western art. $2 brings you current and subsequent catalogues. Brannan Books, Box 475G, Garberville, CA 95440.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

EXPERIENCED FARMER/GARDENER will cultivate/revive your land. John Sughrue, 315 Liberty, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS

"KENNEDY '84" Bumperstickers $1 each: The Committee for '84, 1666 Page St., San Francisco, CA 94117.

BUMPERSTICKERS/8½" x 11" placards. "MY FOREARS DESCENDED FROM ISLAND TREES." "MONKEYS HATE AVID PROCREATIONISTS." $2.50 apiece. Please specify. Publicum, Box 5, Roslyn, NY 11576.

"George Orwell for President 1984" bumperstickers. A provocative parable, quality graphics, purple and orange on white, durable vinyl. $2 ppd. PO Box 61, Selah, WA 98942.

EDUCATION

LATIN & GREEK. College professor offers tutoring to suit individual needs in the New York area. (201) 792-5355.

EDUCATION

FAIRHAVEN COLLEGE. Long experience in helping students find, shape and pursue their own directions. Graduates have outstanding records with top graduate and professional schools, business, government. Tough liberal arts core followed by student-devised concentration or conventional University major. Intimate learning (250 students) with resources of large University (10,000) at hand. Superb faculty. Beautiful Northwest setting. Admissions, Fairhaven College, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA 98225. (206) 676-3678.

LEARN 10 LANGUAGES a year while striding for exercise. 200 Language Club, PO Box 1727, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES are collected in Frank Lewis' latest book, #4. Send $3.75 to E. S. Lewis, 62 Fort St., Fairhaven, MA 02719.

GOURMET

MAPLE SYRUP—Maine Grade A. Cooked over wood fires. $5.49 pint, $9.95 quart, postpaid. Glickman Farm, RFD 2, Clinton, ME 04927. Satisfaction guaranteed.

GUIDES TO WISDOM

THOUGHT: Miracle Tool for Effective Living. $2 and SASE. Cuts labor, time and pain. Commonsense Books, 212N North Road, Chelmsford, MA 01824.

HEALTH

SELF-HEALING: helping yourself and helping your physician help you. For descriptive literature, send a self-addressed stamped envelope to: F. Levy, 105N Stacia Street, Los Gatos, CA 95030.

TOO OLD TO HAVE A BABY? Let's explore your feelings. Lynn Somerstein, trained psychotherapist, (212) 348-4165.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER
ASSOCIATES, INC.
ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

INVENTIONS

IDEAS, INVENTIONS WANTED for presentation to industry. 1-800-528-6050, Arizona, 1-800-352-0458, x831.

LITERARY SERVICES

FICTION CONSULTANT. 2227 20 St. N.W., 402 Washington, DC 20009.

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? Free search service pls. write Peter Sperling-Books, Dept. A, PO Box 300, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10113-0300.

LITERARY SERVICES

AUTHORS—Advertise your manuscript's availability to 2,000 publishers/agents in "Writer's Showcase." Details-$1. Literary Service Bureau, PO Box 5391, Washington, DC 20912. (202) 723-1715.

FICTION ADVICE. 2227 20th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER
Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free, illustrated 40-page brochure N. Vantage Press, 516 W. 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001

MAIL LOANS

SIGNATURE LOANS to $15,000. No collateral. Send 2 stamps to: FIC, PO Box 4431-N, El Paso, TX 79914.

MERCHANDISE

VACUUM CLEANERS: "Discount Prices" "New" Rainbow $349.95, Kirby, Filter Queen, Compact, Details: ABC Vacuum Warehouse, 7021 Burnet-N, Austin, TX 78757.

CELTIC FOLK HARPS—Legendary sound, master quality. Caswell Harps, 14690 Carrier, Guerneville, CA 95446.

MOVIE STAR PHOTOS by the millions. For illustrated brochure send $1 to: Movie Star News, Dept. N, PO Box 191, New York, NY 10276.

TRS-80 Computers and Radio Shack products at 15% discount. Charles Blackwell, Radio Shack dealer, 30 N. Congress, York, SC 29745. (803) 684-9980.

EVERYTHING'S VIDEOCASSETTES! Features, rockvideo, classic television, religious, sports: catalogue $3. Amateur, professional XXX-video: $2. (Sign "over 21") Alternative Video, 171 West Adams, Stockton, CA 95204.

BUY A POWERFUL WORD-PROCESSOR/computer with typewriter-style printer through the mails for under $2500. Comprehensive shopping advice will save you over $700. $5 to: Compu-shopper, 116 Osmun, Ithaca, NY 14850.

MISCELLANEOUS

DISARM YOURSELF. Stamped envelope to New Party, 8319 Fulham Court, Richmond, VA 23227.

ARTISTS/all fields: Grants/aid information. Private $ sources. Send SASE for brochure: WIAL, Box 9005N, Washington, DC 20003.

GET GOD OFF YOUR BACK: Send $1 for Information Packet to: American Atheists, PO Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.

FINANCIAL PRIVACY: The only effective method. Clarkson's No Checks, $5. Patriot Network, PO Box 17001, Greenville, SC 29607.

FREE TAX-EXEMPTION REPORT. Pay no federal, state tax. IRS allowed. Write HHS, PO Box 143, Great Neck, NY 11022. Send $2, expenses.

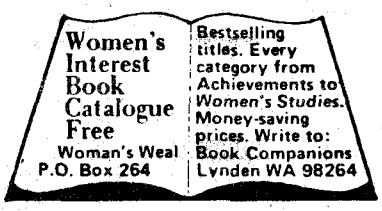
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

MISCELLANEOUS

CULTURGRAMS: 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. For complimentary Culturgram and publications list, write BYU/CIAS, PO Box 61-G FOB, Provo, UT 84602 or call (801) 378-6528.

OF INTEREST TO WOMEN


Women's Interest Book Catalogue Free
Woman's Weal
P.O. Box 264
Bestselling titles. Every category from Achievements to Women's Studies. Money-saving prices. Write to: Book Companions Lynden WA 98264

PERSONALS

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured single, widowed or divorced persons acquainted. Established 1970. Nationwide. Write: Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081. Or call (215) 566-2132.

SCANDINAVIAN ladies, sincere, seek correspondence/friendship. Information: Scanna-N, PO Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

PENTAGON SECURITY RISK (Soviet, US communist relatives) seeks congenial community. PO Box 873, Oak Park, IL 60301.

WE'VE FOUND A BETTER WAY! Attractive, prof. NY women are having a wonderful time inviting dynamic, prof. single men (36-50) to congenial get-togethers. Write Nation Box 14.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EDITOR NEEDED FOR MULTINATIONAL MONITOR, a monthly magazine founded by Ralph Nader that looks into the role of multinational corporations in the Third World and in the U.S. Journalism experience and knowledge of the field necessary. Low salary, rewarding work. Send resume to: PO Box 19405, Washington, DC 20036. Or phone: (202) 833-3932.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

National Coordinator, **NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE CAMPAIGN.** Responsible for overall supervision of national campaign. Requires commitment to Freeze Campaign; demonstrated ability to work with wide range of people; organizational, writing, speaking skills. Applicant must be willing to travel extensively, relocate to St. Louis as 2-year commitment. Salary $23,000 (negotiable) + benefits. Send resume, references, writing samples before November 8th to: Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell, Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108. Attention: National Coordinator Search.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR-WASHINGTON, D.C. Direct program activities, raise funds, coordinate meetings, build organizational ties for nationwide networking organization. Intelligence agency abuse, political rights, freedom of information. Experience fund-raising and directing program required. $17,000 annual, good benefits. Send resume and writing sample to: Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002.

NATIONAL DISARMAMENT ORGANIZATION seeks financial manager for finance development, grant writing, public relations. Skilled in fund-raising, media, organizing preferred. $200-$250 per week + health insurance. Affirmative action. Send resume to: Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

NEW LITERARY MAGAZINE looking for long stories to publish-**PREFERABLY 8,000-20,000 WORDS.** The Long Story, 11 Kingston Street, North Andover, MA 01845.

WORLD PRESS WATCH, weekly review of world news. $5 per 4 issues, $15 per 13 issues, $55 per year. Walter Brooks, PO Box 3025, Palm Beach, FL 33480.

FREE SAMPLE of nonpartisan national political newsletter. Write: Washington Report, PO Box 10309, St. Petersburg, FL 33733.

PUBLICATIONS

AMERICAN ATHEIST MAGAZINE- Journal of atheist news and thought. Madalyn Murray O'Hair, Editor. For a sample copy send $1 to: AA Press, PO Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.

READ THE GUARDIAN, America's #1 independent Marxist newsweekly. National, international coverage. Write for FREE introductory 4-week subscription. Guardian, Dept. NA, 33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011.

THE INTER DEPENDENT: An illustrated bimonthly featuring no-nonsense coverage of US-Third World relations and global issues. For free sample copy write: The Inter Dependent, 300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017.

FREE BROCHURE on the Neutron Bomb by World Peace Council. It tells how it works and why it is particularly dangerous. Write: National Peace Coalition, PO Box 5789, Fresno, CA 93755.

QUERIES

AUTHOR'S QUERY

For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plain stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hearing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc. about inexpert authorities in any field, in any age. Write Nation Box 80.

REAL ESTATE

BEAUTIFUL HAWAII—Vacation apartments. Free brochure: Paradise, 50 S. Beretania, C207, Honolulu, HI 96813. (808) 538-7145. Toll Free U.S. to HI (800) 367-5205.

BUYING COUNTRY PROPERTY? Save $$$, time, hassles with expert pre-investment guide. Money-back guarantee. $3 c/o Land, Box 803A, 250 West 77th Street, New York, NY 10024.

RECIPES

DAD'S SPIRITED PUMPKIN PIE for the holidays. Send $1 for recipe and menu to: DAD, PO Box 3503, Baltimore, MD 21214.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL! POSITIVE PROOF Flavius Josephus created Jesus, authored Gospels. Scholarly booklet: $3.00—Vector, PO Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98007.

TRAVEL

CARIBE PLAYA. Guardarraya Puerto Rico 00723. Superb private coco-beach, environment, snorkeling, tranquillity, hospitality. Studio Apts. $168 per person per week. Double occupancy.

READY TO TRAVEL? You can plan now with finest MAPS! Catalogue $1. EAGLE EYE, PO Box 751-A, Paonia, CO 81428.

UNUSUAL GIFTS

NONCONFORMIST BANDANNAS are great gifts, $3-$4 each. Humor, politics, art, family, angels, more. Catalogue: National Rutabaga Co., 20400-M Fifth West, Sonoma, CA 95476.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

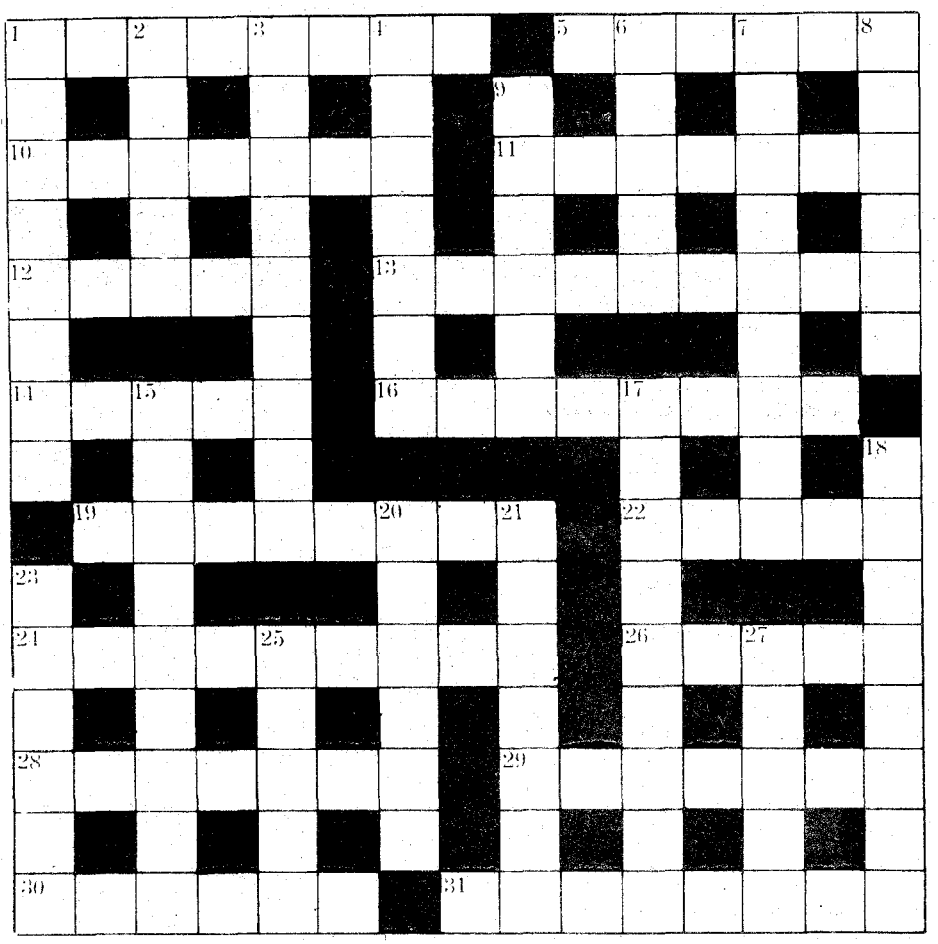
Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 1936

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 They might give specific instructions for the make-up of a mule. (8)
5 Not much set on fire, let out of the last part. (6)
10 Threatens people holding high cards? (7)
11 Handled the meeting in which I'd reach a possible conclusion? (7)
12 Pearl's mother, as they say, has a point when it comes to what might be a reasonable plot. (5)
13 Peer, by nationality? (A possible problem on wearing this!) (9)
14 Comparatively refined. (5)
16 Ship a lot of this, possibly, where the operation might take place. (8)
19 Making a mess of what you've written? (8)
22 A good place to eat in Germany. (5)
24 In favor of something that might come from the floor in advance. (9)
26 Not only in England might it be suitably marked "lift" at the entrance. (5)
28 Poor Shakespeare! I can't bear such for what I like! (3,4)
29 Personal finery, and in retrospect, first class drink! (7)
30 Advice to the young man took a more tragic meaning in WW I. (2,4)
31 It's perfectly obvious what the steady siren tone means! (3,5)

DOWN

1 and 8 Signified by the heroine's demise—the actress and the soubrette each having one. (8,6)
2 One-time description of Poe's rhyme. (5)
3 Is such as Sam a Communist—therefore not able to handle Top Secret material? (9)
4 It might not be a good idea to drink it in baths, possibly. (7)
6 "The spit and this" got corrupted to the "spitting" type, as you might see upon reflection. (5)
7 An 8 might be one of these—especially for tramlines when torn up. (9)
8 See 1 down
9 Do fans look for them in the paper? Commonly, lots! (6)
15 Certainly not unusual legislation—but that's how certain marriages are! (6,3)
17 Doctrinal form that I and Coolidge might be responsible for. (9)
18 See 23
20 More likely to be found growing in cold climates. (6)
21 Has at least one star, to be other than specific. (7)
23 and 18 Said to be sensed by some early in the year? Bound to do it, possibly! (6,2,3,3)
25 It could be moist, but you'll find leaves out. (5)
27 It indicates a nasal sound, getting led out after it comes up. (5)

PUZZLED?
No more cross words; write for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's "ground rules" c/o *The Nation*. Learn why "little skipper" is a 'truant."

UNUSUAL GIFTS

HOW COULD YOU HAVE GOTTEN BY SO LONG without this 5-page computer printout of the up to 2,187 letter combinations inherent in your (or your friend's) phone number? Send $10 (cash, check or MO) and your favorite 7-digit phone number to: Low Q, Box 937, Sag Harbor, NY 11963. And your printout will be on its way in a plain earth-tone envelope.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1935

C	A	S	T	A	S	I	D	E		M	I	N	D	S
H		P		N		N		L		E		O		H
I	S	O	T	O	P	E		O	V	E	R	T	H	E
N		N		T		F		P		T		H		L
A	N	D		H	U	F	F	E	D		H	I	L	L
		E		E		E		D		C		N		G
O	N	E	T	R	A	C	K		L	O	G	G	I	A
P				D		T		B		O				M
E	N	T	R	A	P		D	I	S	P	R	O	V	E
R		E		Y		H		L		E		F		
A	W	A	Y		D	O	L	L	A	R		F	A	R
H		P		A		R		I		A		I		E
A	N	O	T	H	E	R		N	O	T	I	C	E	S
T		T		O		I		G		O		E		E
S	A	S	S	Y		D	E	S	E	R	T	R	A	T

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

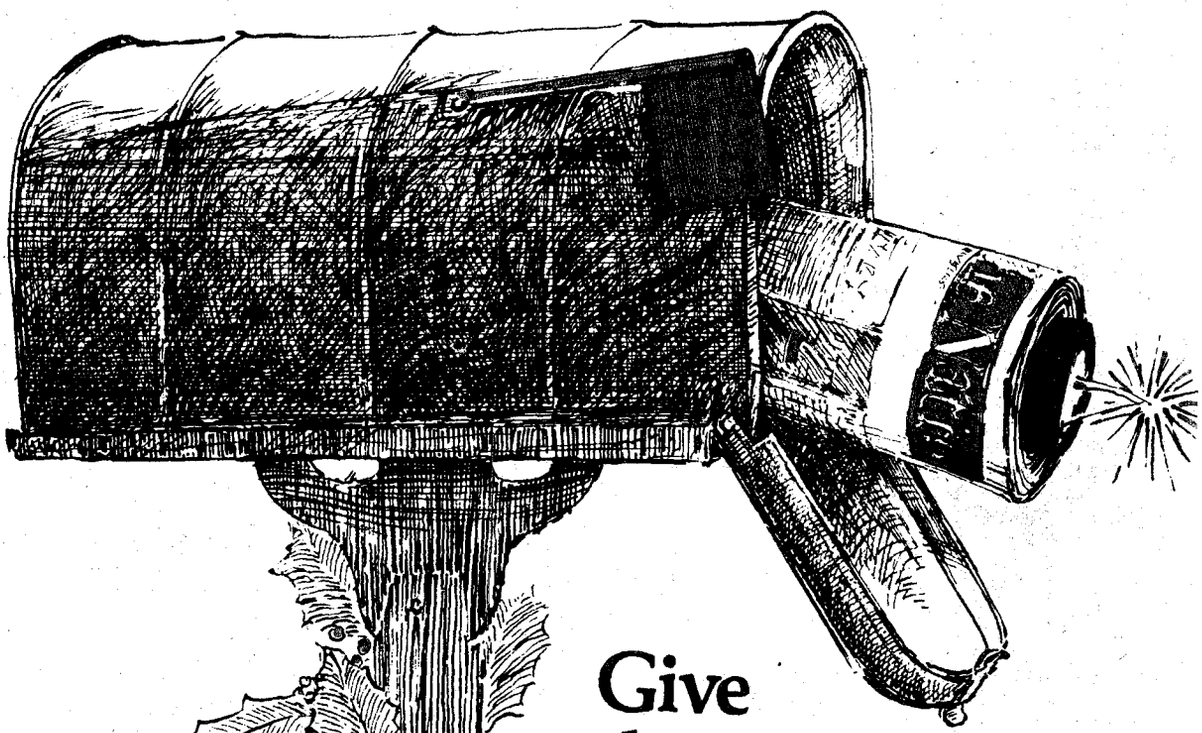
State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LOCAL ORG. UNION AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS LABEL X-523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Give the gift that explodes 47 times a year

A gift subscription to *The Nation* for a few friends or relatives bursts with wit, insight and independence.

So let them in on a good thing. And put a little spark in their mailbox this year.

Send us your list now, and for each gift we'll send a handsome holiday announcement card for you to sign and send on to each lucky friend.

Give The Nation.

Special Holiday Savings!

1 Year—47 Issues:

1st gift or renewal—$24 (SAVE $11)

Each Additional gift—$18 (SAVE $17)

Please add $7 per year, Canada; $13 per year, other foreign countries. Payment in U.S. funds only.

YOUR NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Note: Why not enter or renew your own subscription as a holiday treat for yourself?

☐ Enter ☐ Renew

Please send gift subscriptions to:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

For additional gifts attach list.

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s).

☐ Bill me later.

SEND TO: THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305. D8240

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED